HANDBOOK OF SCRIPTURE STUDY

SCHUMACHER

VOL. III

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A HANDBOOK OF SCRIPTURE STUDY

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VOL. III

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CORRIGENDA

Page 53, line 5: accordind should read according.
Page 128, line 14: July should read June.
Page 259, line 10: desparation should read desperation.

DEDICATED

TO MY FAITHFUL STUDENTS
IN GRATEFUL REMEMBRANCE

PREFACE

For information concerning the aim and purpose of this outline of a New Testament Introduction, the student is referred to the Preface of the first volume of this "Handbook."

However, it may be noted, the "Special Problems," listed after the treatise on each book of the New Testament will receive a fuller and systematic study in a forthcoming volume, entitled "A Dictionary of New Testament Difficulties."

THE AUTHOR

Catholic University of America,
Washington, D. C.
Feast of the Epiphany, 1922.

CONTENTS

PAGE

PREFACE iii

CHAPTER I. THE GOSPELS IN GENERAL 1

CHAPTER II. THE GOSPEL OF ST. MATTHEW . . 6

CHAPTER III. THE GOSPEL OF ST. MARK . . . 19

CHAPTER IV. THE GOSPEL OF ST. LUKE . . . 32

CHAPTER V. THE SYNOPTIC PROBLEM 42

CHAPTER VI. THE GOSPEL OF ST. JOHN . . . 61

CHAPTER VII. THE LIFE OF CHRIST 80

CHAPTER VIII. THE ACTS OF THE APOSTLES . . 105

CHAPTER IX. THE PAULINE CHRONOLOGY . . . 113

CHAPTER X. THE PAULINE EPISTLES 134

I. The Epistles to the Thessalonians 135
   A. The First Epistle to the Thessalonians 136
   B. The Second Epistle to the Thessalonians 140

II. The Epistles to the Galatians 145

III. The Epistles to the Corinthians 156
   A. The First Epistle to the Corinthians . . 156
   B. The Second Epistle to the Corinthians . 165

IV. The Epistle to the Romans 171

V. The Epistles of the Captivity 179
   A. The Epistle to the Colossians 179
   B. The Epistle to the Ephesians 188
   C. The Epistle to Philemon 196
   D. The Epistle to the Philippians . . . 197

VI. The Epistle to the Hebrews 203

PAGE

VII. The Pastoral Epistles 217
A. The First Epistle to Timothy 217
B. The Epistle to Titus 227
C. The Second Epistle to Timothy . . . 230
D. The Authenticity of the Pastoral Epistles 233

CHAPTER XI. THE CATHOLIC EPISTLES . . . 235
A. The Epistle of St. James 236
B. The Epistle of Jude 248
C. The First Epistle of St. Peter . . . 255
D. The Second Epistle of St. Peter . . . 266
E. The First Epistle of St. John 272
F. The Second and Third Epistles of St. John 276

CHAPTER XII. THE APOCALYPSE 283

CHAPTER XIII. THE UNITY OF THE "CORPUS JOHANNEUM" 293

INDEX 300

APPENDICES:
1. Map of Palestine 319
2. Map of the Pauline Missionary Journeys (North Galatian Theory) 321

ABBREVIATIONS

(So far as they are not evident from the context.)

AmJTh — *American Journal of Theology.*

BZ — *Biblische Zeitschrift.*

Exp — *Expositor.*

ExpT — *Expository Times.*

JthSt — *Journal of Theological Studies.*

RB — *Revue Biblique.*

TU — *Texte und Untersuchungen.*

ZntlW — *Zeitschrift für die neutestamentliche Wissenschaft.*

A HANDBOOK OF SCRIPTURE STUDY

CHAPTER I

THE GOSPELS IN GENERAL

GENERAL BIBLIOGRAPHY

CORNELY-KNABENBAUER-HUMMELAUER, *Cursus Scripturae Sacrae, Commentarii in N. T.*

VIGOUROUX, *Manuel Biblique,* ed. by Brassac, 1919.

TILLMANN, *Die hl. Schriften des N. T.*

DRIVER-PLUMMER-BRIGGS, *The International Critical Commentary.*

The Holy Bible, Westminster Version of the Sacred Scriptures.

The Cambridge Greek Testament.

The Expositor's Greek Testament.

The Century Bible.

H. A. W. MEYER, *Commentary on the N. T.*

H. J. HOLTZMANN, *Hand-Commentar zum N. T.*

H. LIETZMANN, *Handbuch zum N. T.*

TH. ZAHN, *Kommentar zum N. T.*

STRACK-ZÖCKLER, *Kommentar zum N. T.*

J. WEISS, *Die Schriften des N. T.*

BENGEL, *Gnomon Novi Testamenti,* 1860.

ALFORD, H., *The Greek Testament,* 1859.

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Besides the literature mentioned above:

MACEVILLY, *Exposition of the Gospels,* 1876.

P. Schegg, *Die Hl. Evangelien, übersetzt und erklärt,* 8 *vols.,* 1856 *ff.*
Callan, *The Four Gospels,* 1913.
Rose, *Studies on the Gospels,* 1910.
Robinson, *The Study of the Gospels,* 1903.
Wright, *The Composition of the Four Gospels,* 1890.
Calmes, *Comment se sont formés les Évangiles,* 1899.
Nicol, *The Gospels in the Earliest Church History,* 1908.
Burkitt, *The Gospel History and Its Transmission,* 1906.
Halévy, *Études Évangéliques,* 1903.
Levesque, E., *Nos quatre Évangiles, leur composition et leur position respective,* 1920.

I. **The name** εὐαγγέλιον is

1) originally used in a general way for the "good tidings" of salvation; Cf. Rom. I, 9, 16.

2) Again for the four Gospels as a unit; thus Irenaeus speaks of a τετράμορφον τὸ εὐαγγέλιον (*Adv. Haer,* III, ii, 8)

3) Then for the four different versions of the one Gospel; therefore we have the expressions: εὐαγγέλιον κατὰ Ματθαῖον, κατὰ Μάρκον, etc. (κατὰ indicating the author).

4) Lastly for every single book; thus the expression four "εὐαγγέλια" becoming usual. Justin (Apol. I, 66) uses εὐαγγέλια as title for the ἀπομνημονεύματα τῶν ἀποστόλων.

II. The **existence** of our Gospels in early times.

Literature: *The New Testament in the Apostolic Times* by the committee of the Oxford Society of Historical Theology, Oxford, 1905.

The existence and use of the Gospels in the earliest days of the Church is proved beyond doubt:

1) by the Didache, the Epistle of Barnabas, Clement of Rome, Ignatius, Polycarp, the Shepherd of Hermas, Papias of Hieropolis, Aristides, the Diatessaron of Tatian, Justin, Irenaeus, the Muratorian Fragment, etc.

2) also by the heretics: Basilides, Valentine, Heracleon, Marcion.

3) especially by the four **classical texts:**

a) of **Papias,** the friend of Polycarp and the last disciple of St. John (Παπίας ὁ Ἰωάννου μὲν ἀκουστής, Πολυκάρπου δὲ ἑταῖρος, Euseb., *H. E.,* III, 39, 1). Appealing to the presbyter (John) as his authority he testifies (Euseb., *H. E.,* III, 39, 16):

"Μάρκος μὲν ἑρμηνευτὴς Πέτρου γενόμενος, ὅσα ἐμνημόνευσεν, ἀκριβῶς ἔγραψεν, οὐ μέντοι τάξει τὰ ὑπὸ τοῦ κυρίου ἢ λεχθέντα ἢ πραχθέντα . . . οὐχ ὥσπερ σύνταξιν τῶν κυριακῶν ποιούμενος λογίων. . . . Ματθαῖος μὲν οὖν Ἑβραϊδι διαλέκτῳ τὰ λόγια συνετάξατο. Ἡρμήνευσε δ' αὐτὰ ὡς ἦν δυνατὸς ἕκαστος."

("Mark, the interpreter of Peter, wrote down accurately, though not indeed in order, whatsoever he remembered of the things said or done by the Lord . . . but with no intention of giving a chronological account of the Lord's discourses." [1]

1 This translation is taken from the "Ante-Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers."

"So then Matthew wrote the λόγια in the Hebrew language, and they interpreted (translated) them to the best of their ability."

b) of **Irenaeus** (Euseb., *H.E.*, V. 8, 2–4).

"Ὁ μὲν δὴ Ματθαῖος ἐν τοῖς Ἑβραίοις τῇ ἰδίᾳ αὐτῶν διαλέκτῳ καὶ γραφὴν ἐξήνεγκεν εὐαγγελίου τοῦ Πέτρου καὶ τοῦ Παύλου ἐν Ῥώμῃ εὐαγγελιζομένων καὶ θεμελιούντων τὴν ἐκκλησίαν· μετὰ δὲ τὴν τούτων ἔξοδον Μάρκος ὁ μαθητὴς καὶ ἑρμηνευτὴς Πέτρου, καὶ αὐτὸς τὰ ὑπὸ Πέτρου κηρυσσόμενα ἐγγράφως ἡμῖν παραδέδωκεν. Καὶ Λουκᾶς δὲ ὁ ἀκόλουθος Παύλου, τὸ ὑπ' ἐκείνου κηρυσσόμενον εὐαγγέλιον ἐν βιβλίῳ κατέθετο: ἔπειτα Ἰωάννης, ὁ μαθητὴς τοῦ κυρίου, ὁ καὶ ἐπὶ τὸ στῆθος αὐτοῦ ἀναπεσών, καὶ αὐτὸς ἐξέδωκε τὸ εὐαγγέλιον, ἐν Ἐφέσῳ τῆς Ἀσίας διατρίβων."

("Matthew published his Gospel among the Hebrews in their own language, while Peter and Paul were preaching and founding the Church in Rome. After their departure (death?) Mark, the disciple and interpreter of Peter, also transmitted to us in writing those things which Peter had preached; and Luke, the attendant of Paul, recorded in a book the Gospel which Paul had declared. Afterwards John, the disciple of the Lord, who also reclined on his bosom, pub-

lished his Gospel, while staying at Ephesus in Asia.")

Note: According to the decision of the Biblical Commission, June 19, 1911, Irenaeus is no decisive witness for the date of Matthew ("incertae et controversae interpretationis").

c) of **Eusebius,** *H.E.*, III, 24, 6).

"Ματθαῖος . . . πρότερον Ἑβραίοις κηρύξας, ὡς ἔμελλεν καὶ ἐφ' ἑτέρους ἰέναι, πατρίῳ γλώσσῃ γραφῇ παραδοὺς τὸ κατ' αὐτὸν εὐαγγέλιον, τὸ λεῖπον τῇ αὐτοῦ παρουσίᾳ τούτοις, ἀφ' ὧν ἐστέλλετο, διὰ τῆς γραφῆς ἀπεπλήρου."

("Matthew, who had at first preached to the Hebrews, when he was about to go to other peoples, committed his Gospel to writing in his native tongue, and thus compensated those whom he was obliged to leave for the loss of his presence.")

d) of **Origen** (Euseb., *H.E.*, VI, 25, 4) who maintains as tradition: "Ματθαῖον ἐκδεδωκότα αὐτὸ (*i.e.*, εὐαγγέλιον) τοῖς ἀπὸ Ἰουδαϊσμοῦ πιστεύσασι γράμμασιν Ἑβραϊκοῖς συντεταγμένον."

("Matthew published the Gospel for the faithful from Judaism in the tongue of the Hebrews.")

CHAPTER II

THE GOSPEL OF ST. MATTHEW

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Cf. General Bibliography. Further:

RICKABY, *The Gospel according to St. Matthew,* 1913.
ROSE, *Évangile selon s. Matthieu,* 1905.
SCHANZ, *Commentar über das Evangelium des hl. Matthäus,* 1879.
VAN STEENKISTE, *Sanctum Jesu Christi Evangelium secundum Matthaeum,* 1903.
ALLEN, *Commentary on the Gospel According to St. Matthew,* 1907.
PLUMMER, *An Exegetical Commentary on the Gospel according to St. Matthew,* 1910.
ADENEY, *The Gospel according to the Hebrews,* 1903.
MERX, *Das Evangelium Matthaeus,* 1912.
SLATER (*Century Bible*).
CARR (*Cambridge Greek Test.*).

I. The Contents.

1) *Christ's Childhood,* I, 1–II, 23.
(Genealogy, Magi, flight into Egypt, the massacre of the Holy Innocents, the return from Egypt.)

2) *His public ministry in Galilee,* III, 1-XVIII, 35.

a) The preparation by the Baptism and temptation, III.
b) The choice of the Apostles, IV.
c) The sermon on the Mount, V–VII.
d) A series of miracles, VIII–IX.
e) The sending of the Apostles, X.
f) The infidelity of the Jews, XI–XII.
g) Parables of the New Kingdom, XIII.
h) Instructions to the Apostles, XIV–XVI.
i) Their preparation for His death, XVII–XVIII.

3) *His ministry in Judea,* XIX, 1–XXV, 46.
a) His journey to Judea, XIX–XX.
b) Jesus in Jerusalem, XXI–XXV.
XXIV, 1–XXV, 46, the discourse on the Parousia.

4) *His passion, death, and resurrection,* XXVI, 1–XXVIII, 20.

II. The Author of the Gospel.

According to the historical tradition, the author of the Aramaic Gospel is Matthew, otherwise called Levi (Mark-Luke), the son of Alpheus, the former tax-collector (= τελώνης) of Capharnaum. Ματθαῖος (Μαθθαῖος) = מַתַּי = *Donatus* = Gift of God. Cf. Matth. IX, 9; Mark II, 14; Luke V, 27. The further activity of Matthew is not known with certainty. Tradition connects him with Arabia, Persia, Media, Ethiopia, etc. Cf. R. Cornely, S. J., *Introductio.*

1) **Testimonies for Matthew's Aramaic Gospel**

a) **Papias** (c. 130): "Ματθαῖος . . . Ἑβραΐδι διαλέκτῳ τὰ λόγια συνετάξατο" = "Matthew put the λόγια together in the Hebrew dialect."

Note: "Λόγια" is here equivalent to "Gospel," not some collection of "Sayings of Jesus," as Schleiermacher suggested and most of the followers of the "Two-sources theory" hold (Harnack, Moffatt, Stapfer, etc.).

1. Thus it was understood by Eusebius, *H.E.*, XXXIX, 15. The Syriac translation of his *H.E.* has "evangelium" for "λόγια."
2. "Λόγια" indicated at the time of Christ generally "divine revelation," according to Philo, Flavius Josephus, the LXX and early Fathers. *E.g.*, Irenaeus, *Haer.*, 1, 8, accuses the Gnostics of abusing the "κυριακὰ λόγια" and quotes as example the raising of the daughter of Jairus, Mark V, 22 ff.
3. The context itself requires λόγια = Gospel, since the Gospel of

St. Mark in the same passage is called "κυριακὰ λόγια."

The "Sayings of Jesus" in the *Oxyrynchus Papyrus,* a collection of sentences introduced by λέγει Ἰησοῦς, edited by GRENFELL and HUNT as "Λόγια Ἰησοῦ," "*Sayings of our Lord,*" etc., London, 1897, do not bear this title originally and hence do not prove the existence of a primitive "Λόγια" = Gospel.

b) **Irenaeus** (Euseb., *H.E.,* V, 8, 2).

"Ματθαῖος ἐν τοῖς Ἑβραίοις τῇ ἰδίᾳ διαλέκτῳ καὶ γραφὴν ἐξήνεγκεν."

("Among the Hebrews Matthew also wrote his Gospel (γραφήν) in their own language.")

c) **Eusebius,** *H.E.,* III, 24, 6.

"Ματθαῖος . . . πατρίῳ γλώττῃ γραφῇ παραδοὺς τὸ κατ' αὐτὸν εὐαγγέλιον."

("Matthew . . . committed his Gospel to writing in his native tongue.")

d) **Origen** (Euseb., *H.E.,* VI, 25, 4) has learned by tradition (ἐν παραδόσει) that the first Gospel was written by the Apostle Matthew "to the Jewish believers in the Hebrew language."

e) **Jerome,** *De Vir. Ill.,* III, expressly confirms this.

The **conclusion** stands: Matthew wrote a Gospel in the Hebrew tongue, of which our Greek Matthew is a translation. By "Hebrew" we have to understand the Hebrew dialect of the time, *i.e.*, Aramaic. Cf. DALMAN, *The Words of Jesus*, 1907.

a) It is therefore a mistake, when Delitzsch, Kaulen, Schegg, etc., think of the *classical* Hebrew;

b) and it is a complete denial of the historical documents to accept Greek as the original, as do Erasmus, Hug, and a certain modern school.

2) The **Greek Translator** cannot be ascertained. *"Non satis certum est"* (Jerome, *De Vir. Ill.*, III).

a) *Matthew* does *not* seem to be the translator, because Papias declares: "ἡρμήνευσε δ'αὐτὰ ὡς ἦν δύνατος ἕκαστος" ="They translated them to the best of their ability." But a new translation was superfluous if one by Matthew himself existed.

b) Nor is the *date* of the translation known. The latter is used in the *"Teaching of the Twelve Apostles"* about thirty times; by Clement of Rome, I Cor. XLVI, 7, etc.; Ignatius, *Ad Polyc.*, I, 1, etc.; Polycarp, *Ad Phil.*, VII, 2, etc.; Justin, *I Apol.*, XXXIII, etc.;

Tertullian, *Adv. Marc.*, IV, 2, etc.; Clement of Alex., *Strom.*, I, 21, etc.

3) The **language** of the Greek Matthew, although permeated with Aramaic influences, is fluent and better than that of Mark and John. Characteristic are the formulae: *"the kingdom of heaven"* and *"your father in heaven."*

The *quotations from the Old Testament* agree partly with the Hebrew text, partly with the LXX, partly with neither of them. To explain this, the use of an Aramaic Targum, or a Massoretic text, different from ours, or a so-called "popular Bible" has been suggested.

4) The modern **"two-sources" theory** regards the Gospel as a compilation of the "Logia" =Q, composed by Matthew, and Mark. (Cf. Synoptic Problem.)

III. **Aim and Purpose of the Gospel.**

1) The Gospel is *addressed* to Jewish Christians in Palestine. Thus Papias, Irenaeus, Origen, Eusebius, Jerome, Chrysostom, etc.

a) Aramaic was understood amongst Christian converts of that time only by Palestinians.

b) Details like *Haceldama, Parasceve,* the *Azymes,* etc., presuppose Palestinian readers.

2) Matthew *aims*

a) To *prove that Jesus is the Messias* predicted by the Prophets. Hence his main argument is the fulfillment of the prophecies (ἵνα πληρωθῇ).

E.g., the genealogy; the birth and childhood of Christ; the Passion as fulfilment of the prophecies.

b) To *accuse and repudiate the Pharisees* and their doctrines. Hence his sometimes bitter language against them. Cf. ch. XXIII.

c) To *announce the arrival of the New Kingdom.* Hence the emphatic statement about the building of the Church with Peter as its foundation. Cf. ch. XVI, 13 ff.

d) To *proclaim the universality* of this Kingdom. Hence passages like XXVIII, 19, about "teaching all nations"; or VIII, 11.

3) Under the influence of these tendencies the *chronological order is neglected* in favor of the systematic arrangement of the doctrine. Details are often disregarded. Cf. the Sermon on the Mount, ch. V–VII; the collection of parables in ch. XIII.

IV. The Date and Place of Composition

1) The tradition that Matthew's Gospel is the *first in the chronological order* is well supported by Irenaeus, *Haer.,* III, 1 (Euseb.,

H.E., V, 8, 2); Origen (Euseb., *H.E.,* VI, 25, 3); Eusebius, *H.E.,* III, 24; Tertullian, *Adv. Marc.,* IV, 5; Jerome, *De Vir. Ill.,* VIII; Augustine, *De Cons. Ev.,* I, 2; Clement of Alex. (Euseb., *H.E.,* VI, 14, 5); the Muratorian Canon.

2) The Aramaic Gospel of Matthew was certainly *written before the destruction of Jerusalem.*

   a) The Jewish State and the temple are mentioned as still existing.

   b) Besides, Matthew, who lays particular stress on the fulfillment of prophecies, would not have overlooked the fulfillment of Christ's great prediction, XXIV, 2–15, if it had taken place.

3) A more *definite determination* of the date is *difficult,* since the historical witnesses do not agree.

   a) *Eusebius, H.E.,* III, 24, 6, remarks that Matthew wrote his Gospel "when he was about to go to other peoples" (ὡς ἤμελλεν καὶ ἐφ' ἑτέρους ἰέναι)— which refers to the dispersion of the Apostles. This took place (according to Euseb., *H.E.,* II, 14, 6; Jerome, *De Vir. Ill.,* XL) under the reign of Claudius, *i.e.,* ca. 41–42 A.D.

   b) According to *Irenaeus* (Euseb., *H.E.,* V, 8, 2) it was written while Peter and Paul preached the Gospel in Rome

and founded the Church there (Πέτρου καὶ Παύλου εὐαγγελιζομένων καὶ θεμελιούντων τὴν ἐκκλησίαν), *i.e.*, when Peter and Paul were together in Rome, which was possible only after Paul's first captivity, ca. 63 A.D.

4) Hence the *general uncertainty* about the date: Felten, Belser, etc., being for 41–42, Bisping for 42, Zahn for 61–66, Hug, Haneberg, Schanz, Meinertz, for 63–67, Cornely, Kaulen, Pölzl, for 42–50, while others accept a still earlier or a much later date.

5) Since the passage of Irenaeus is "*incertae et controversae interpretationis*" (Bibl. Commission) and, according to CHAPMAN (*Journal of Theol. Studies,* 1905, p. 563), does not intend to give any chronological information, the earlier date of Eusebius becomes more probable. But expressions like

a) XXVII, 8, "That field was called Haceldama . . . *even to this day*"; or

b) XXVIII, 15: The rumor that the disciples had stolen the body of the Lord, was spread amongst the Jews "*unto this day*,"

require a reasonable space of time after the ascension. Thus we arrive with Cornely *et al.* at the more **probable date of 42–50.**

6) *Palestine* is generally admitted as the place of

St. Matthew's composition. Cf. Irenaeus, above. Batiffol suggests Antioch in Syria.

V. **Special Problems of the Gospel.**

1) The so-called *"Gospel according to the Hebrews"* was declared by the Tübingen School to be the basis of Matthew, and by Nicholson the "second Hebrew Gospel of Matthew." Modern theories about it are manifold. Up to the 5th century it was often regarded as the Hebrew original of Matthew, even for a long time by Jerome. It is an *apocryphal* Gospel of ca. 150 A.D. The fragments are collected by Hilgenfeld, *Novum Testamentum extra canonem receptum,* 1884. Cf. Nicholson, *The Gospel according to the Hebrews,* London, 1879.

2) (I, 1 ff.) It is disputed whether the *genealogy* is that of Joseph or Mary. The real meaning (*Genealogy of Joseph*) is lucidly brought out by Heer, *Die Stammbäume Jesu nach Mt. und Lk.,* Freiburg, 1910.

3) According to some critics *Matthew I, 16* (the *"virgin birth"*) must be corrected after the newly discovered (1892) *Syrus Sinaiticus* into Ἰωσὴφ . . . ἐγέννησεν Ἰησοῦν. But even here ἐγέννησεν refers only to Christ's legal parentage.

Literature: G. H. Box, *The Virgin Birth of Jesus,* 1916; L. Prestige, *The Virgin Birth of Our Lord,* 1918;

KNOWLING, *The Lord's Virgin Birth and the Criticism of Today;* A. Merx, *Die vier kanonischen Evangelien,* Berlin, 1902; T. K. CHEYNE, *Bible Problems,* New York, 1904.

4) The *original language* of the first Gospel.

Literature: BATIFFOL, *Six Leçons sur les Évangiles,* Paris, 1897; GARDINER, *Journal of Bibl. Literature,* 1890.

5) By a number of critics the *Infancy Section,* ch. I–II, is gratuitously regarded as non-authentic. Thus Wellhausen in his Commentary simply ignores chapters I and II, and starts with Chapter III. According to Merx, Chapter III, 1 was originally connected with the genealogy.

Literature: MOFFATT, *Lit. of the N. T.,* 1911.

6) The authenticity of the *"Johannine passage"* in the Synoptics (Matth. XI, 27) is partly or wholly denied by Harnack, Loisy, Norden, etc., defended by Schumacher, *Selbstoffenbarung Jesu,* 1912.

7) *Matthew XII, 40, "the descent into the nether world,"* and in connection with it the Resurrection and Ascension are based on a "widely current mythic tradition" according to Cheyne. Cf. CHEYNE, *Bible Problems,* 1904; TURMEL, *La Descente du Christ aux Infers,* 1905.

8) The *Great Confession of St. Peter,* Chap. XVI, 17 ff., is discarded by Harnack, H. J.

Holtzmann, Schnitzer, etc.; defended by Batiffol, *Primitive Catholicism*, London, 1911.

9) The *Command of Christ*, XXVIII, 16 ff., is rejected by Conybeare, Wellhausen, Lake, etc.; defended by Chase, *Journal of Theol. Studies*, 1905.

10) *Sign of Jonas.* The text of *Matth. XII*, 40 f., compared with Luke XI, 30–32, is a disputed textual question.

Literature: H. Michael, *The Sign of John, Journal of Theol. Studies*, 1920.

11) The *O. T. quotations in Matthew.*

Literature: Massebieau, *Examen des Citations de l'Ancien Testament dans l'Évangile selon St. Matthieu*, 1885; Stephenson, *The Old Testament Quotations peculiar to Matthew, Journal of Theol. Studies*, 1919.

12) Is the *Sermon on the Mount* a compilation from rabbinical sources attributed to Christ? Cf. Black-Cheyne, *Encyclopedia Biblica.*

13) Are the *Parables of Ch. XXV* Jewish-Christian reflections on Jesus? Cf. Fonck, *The Parables of the Gospel*, 1915. Cf. *Life of Christ*, problems.

14) The *testimony of Irenaeus* concerning the date of the Gospel.

Literature: Chapman, *Irenaeus on the Dates of the Gospels, Journal of Theol. Studies*, 1905. Hoh, *Die Lehre des hl. Irenaeus über das N. T.* 1919.

15) Are the "*Catholic*" *elements* in the Gospels later interpolations?

Literature: Batiffol, *Credibility of the Gospel,* 150 ff.

16) Is the "*small Apocalypse,*" Matth. XXIV, 15 ff., a piece of an early Christian apocalyptic literature and a later addition to the Gospel (Clemen, Loisy, Cheyne, etc)?

17) Matth. V, 27 and XIX, 9 ff: *The N. T. Teaching on Divorce.*

Literature: McRory, *The Teaching of the N. T. on Divorce in the Irish Theological Quarterly,* VI, (1911);
Gigot, *Christ's Teaching Concerning Divorce in the N. T.,* N. Y., 1912; Box and Gore, *Divorce in the N. T.,* 1921.

VI. The Decisions of the Biblical Commission concerning Matthew, June 19, 1911.

1) According to tradition Matthew was the first of the evangelists.
2) He wrote a Gospel, not a collection of "sayings" (λόγια).
3) He wrote in the Palestinian dialect.
4) He wrote before 70 A.D.
5) The Aramaic Gospel is "*quoad substantiam*" identical with our canonical Greek Matthew.
6) The testimony of Irenaeus is "*incertae et controversae interpretationis.*"
7) The arguments against the *integrity* of the Gospel are "devoid of solid foundation."

CHAPTER III

THE GOSPEL OF ST. MARK

LITERATURE

Cf. General literature of the N. T. and the Gospels.
Smith, *The Gospel according to St. Mark,* 1915.
Swete, *The Gospel according to St. Mark,* 1902.
M. J. Lagrange. *Évangile selon Saint Marc,* 1911.
P. Schanz, *Kommentar über das Evangelium des hl. Markus,* 1881.
Gould (*International Critical Comm.*).
Maclear (*Cambridge Greek Test.*).
Salmond (*Century Bible*).
Menzies, *The Earliest Gospel,* 1901.
J. Weiss, *Das älteste Evangelium,* 1903.
Bacon, *The Beginnings of the Gospel Story,* 1909.
Burton, *Studies in the Gospel of Mark,* 1904.
Hoffmann, *Das Markus-Evangelium und seine Quellen,* 1904.
Goguel, *L'Évangile de Marc et ses Rapports,* etc., 1909.

I. Contents.

1. *Introduction, I, 1–13.*
   a) John the Baptist.
   b) The Baptism of Christ with the declaration of His " Sonship". The temptation of Christ.
2. *Christ's Public Ministry in Galilee, I, 14–IX, 50.*

a) Jesus proved by His miracles and doctrines that He was the "Messias" and "Son of God," I, 14–IV, 1.

b) Instruction to the Apostles, IV, 1–IX, 50.

3. *His Public Ministry in Judea and Jerusalem, X, 1–XIII, 37.*

a) Christ on His journey to Jerusalem, X, 1–52.

b) Christ in Jerusalem, XI, 1–XIII, 37.

4. *The Passion and Resurrection, XIV, 1–XVI, 8.*

5. *Conclusion.* The apparitions of the Risen Lord, XVI, 9–20.

II. The Author of the Gospel.

1. The Tradition mentions as **author:** Μάρκος.

a) **Papias** (Euseb., *H.E.*, III, 39) reports what the presbyter, *i.e.*, John, said: "Μάρκος μὲν ἑρμηνευτὴς Πέτρου γενόμενος, ὅσα ἐμνημόνευσεν, ἀκριβῶς ἔγραψεν· οὐ μέντοι τάξει τὰ ὑπὸ τοῦ κυρίου λεχθέντα ἢ πραχθέντα"; *i.e.*, "Mark, who became interpreter to Peter, wrote down accurately what he remembered of the words or deeds of the Lord, although not in chronological order."

He adds that Mark was not a disciple of Christ but of Peter; that Peter did not follow the *σύνταξις τῶν κυριακῶν λόγων*, nor did Mark.

b) **Irenaeus** (Euseb., *H.E.*, V, 8, 3) notes about Mark: "Μετὰ δὲ τὴν τούτων ἔξοδον, Μάρκος, ὁ μαθητὴς καὶ ἑρμηνευτὴς Πέτρου, καὶ αὐτὸς τὰ ὑπὸ Πέτρου κηρυσσόμενα ἐγγράφως ἡμῖν παραδέδωκεν." "After their death [*i.e.*, according to the context, after the death of Peter and Paul, not their departure from Palestine] Mark, the disciple and interpreter of Peter, himself gave us the preaching of Peter in writing."

c) **Jerome** (*Prolog. in Matth.*) states: "*Secundus Marcus, interpres apostoli Petri et Alexandrinae ecclesiae primus episcopus, . . . ea quae magistrum audierat praedicantem iuxta fidem magis gestorum narravit quam ordinem.*"

d) These testimonies are *confirmed* by Tertullian, *Adv. Marc.*, IV, 5; Origen, (Euseb., *H.E.*, VI, 25, 5). Especially by Eusebius, *H.E.*, II, 15, 2; VI, 14. Noteworthy are the prologues of a number of Latin MSS. to the same effect.

2) **The Personality of Mark.**

a) Mark, with the surname John (cf. Acts XIII, 5, 13; XV, 37, 39), is mentioned, Acts XII, 12, as the Son of Mary, who had in *Jerusalem* a house where the first Christians gathered.

There is no reason to deny with Loisy, etc., the traditional view of the identity of "Mark" and "John Mark."

b) As a *nephew of Barnabas* (Col. IV, 10) he accompanied his uncle and St. Paul on their first missionary journey (ca. 45; Acts XII, 25), but parted from Paul in Perge (Acts XIII, 13).

c) At the beginning of the *second missionary journey* (49–52) Barnabas and Mark went to Cyprus (Acts XV, 37 ff.).

d) Col. IV, 10, and Philem. 24 show Mark again with Paul *in Rome* during the latter's first captivity (61–63).

e) I Peter V, 13: Mark is *in Rome* (beginning of 64 A.D.) with St. Peter, who calls him his "son," probably because he converted him to Christ.

f) II Tim. IV, 11, Timothy is asked to bring Mark with him *from Ephesus to Rome,* where Paul is in his second captivity (66–67).

g) According to tradition Mark was *"Alexandrinae ecclesiae primus episcopus"* (*Jerome, Prol. in Matth.*).

In consequence of Mark's confusing relation, sometimes to St. Paul, sometimes to Barnabas, and finally to St. Peter, no definite conclusion is possible as to when

Mark joined St. Peter in Rome. It is very improbable that he was with Peter when he left Palestine for Rome (ca. 42). He may have been with him during 52-62. He certainly was with him in 64.

3) Whether Mark was a **disciple of Christ** cannot be established with certainty.
   a) Very likely he knew Jesus, since he lived in Jerusalem. Perhaps he is the "young man" of Mark XIV, 51 ff.
   b) Papias states on the authority of John that Mark did not hear the Lord (Euseb., *H.E.*, III, 39, 15).

4) **Mark's dependence on St. Peter** in his Gospel is evident.
   a) He begins, like St. Peter (Acts I, 21 ff) with the Baptism of John.
   b) The report of the healing of St. Peter's mother-in-law (I, 29 ff) is so circumstantial as to suggest the authority of an eye-witness.
   c) The outlines of the Gospel are exactly like those given by Peter, Acts X, 36 ff.
   d) St. Peter is always kept in the background. Even the passage on the primacy in the account VIII, 27 ff., is entirely omitted.
   e) On the other hand the severe blame for St. Peter, VIII, 33, and his denial, XIV, 66 ff., are emphasized. This

can be explained only by the modesty of St. Peter in his preaching. (Cf. Eusebius, *Demonstr. Evang.*, III, 5.)

f) But the call of Peter is placed at the head of the Gospel, I, 16–18, to emphasize the authority of Mark's source.

5) **Special characteristics of Mark.**

a) **In the structure.** The general plan is similar to that of Matthew (Ministry in Galilee, Judea, Passion). Broadly, there are in Mark only three additions of importance beyond Matthew and Luke. But important peculiarities are to be noticed:

The history of the *birth* of Christ and the *genealogy* are missing. Although the Gospel is shorter than Matthew's, it is *more exhaustive* in details.

Remarkable are: the use of the Messianic title, "Son of Man," the *self-velation* of Christ (*i.e.*, the request of the Lord not to tell any man what they had seen, till the Son of Man shall be risen again from the dead, Mark IX, 8, etc.) in spite of the public miracles; the power of Christ over the *demons;* the *multiplicity of miracles* in the narrative, etc.

b) **In the style.** Mark writes a *popular Greek* with *Latinisms* (*e.g.*, κεντυρίων,

δενάριον); prefers diminutives like θυγάτριον; is fond of special words like εὐθύς, πάλιν, ἀλλά, καί, etc.

There is no evidence of a translation from the Aramaic.

6) **The theories about Mark are manifold.**

a) By *non-Catholic* critics the *priority of Mark* is universally accepted.

b) Beyond this general principle the authors *disagree:* Some accept an "Ur-Markus"; others the priority of Q to Mark (Q = Logia-source); others the priority of Mark to Q; others the gradual development: Aramaic source = Mc^1, Greek Mark = Mc^2, the canonical Gospel = Mc^3; others only Mc^1 = Aramaic source, and Mc^2 = a larger Greek edition identical with our canonical Mark.

III. Purpose and Aim.

Mark emphasizes mainly the *deeds and miracles* of Christ, in order to prove His divinity and divine power, whereas in Matthew the *words* of the Lord stand in the foreground. The readers of Mark are the Christians of the *Roman community,* as stated also by Clement of Alexandria (Euseb., *H.E.*, VI, 14, 6), in agreement with the aim of the Gospel, which seems to point to *a chiefly pagan-Christian* community. The emphasis on O.T. prophecies (*e.g.,* I, 2–3; IV, 12), how-

ever, is directed to the *Jewish* element; to pagan-Christians the explanations of Jewish institutions, etc. *E.g.*, VII, 3 f.; XIV, 12, etc.

IV. **Date and Place of Composition.**

1. It is almost generally admitted that this gospel was written *before 70 A.D.*, since the destruction of Jerusalem had not yet taken place.
2. As to the more exact determination of the date, *opinions differ*. Schegg, Kaulen, also Belser (with the modification that the final edition followed ca. 64) are for A.D. 44. But it is objected against this:
   a) That according to the above chronology of the life of Mark, there is no evidence of his having been in the company of St. Peter before meeting St. Paul.
   b) Besides, XVI, 20 (*"illi profecti praedicaverunt ubique"*) points to a date long after the dispersion of the Apostles.
   3) On the other hand, there seems to be some evidence for the year 67 A.D.
      a) Papias says (Euseb., *H.E.*, III, 39) that Mark followed St. Peter and wrote his Gospel "as he remembered it" (ὅσα ἐμνημόνευσεν). This indicates a later period, probably a time when memory was Mark's only

source, *i.e.*, after the death of Peter.

b) Clement of Alexandria likewise states (Euseb., *H.E.*, VI, 14, 6) that the Roman Christians asked Mark to write Peter's Gospel, since he had accompanied the Apostle for a long time (πόρρωθεν) and remembered his words. Cf. also Euseb., *H.E.*, II, 15.

c) Irenaeus (Euseb., *H.E.*, V, 8) confirms the view that Mark wrote after the death of Peter and Paul (μετὰ τούτων ἔξοδον) (67).

4) But neither the testimony of Papias nor that of Irenaeus is conclusive, for Eusebius, *H.E.*, II, 15, 1–2, suggests that St. Peter was a living witness of Mark's authorship. Mark was certainly written before Luke, and the date of Luke is given by the Biblical Commission with good reason as 61–62. At the time of the first captivity (61–63) Mark was with *Paul* in Rome but hardly wrote the Gospel of Peter then. There is only *one* possibility: *the period of silence in our documents between 52 and 61.*

5) According to what has been said the Gospel was *written at Rome.* This is confirmed by the frequent occurrence of Latinisms, like πραιτώριον, XV, 16; κεντυρίων, XV, 39; etc.

Chrysostom, *Hom. I in Matth.*, mentions Egypt as the place of composition. Cf. Bacon, *Is Mark a Roman Gospel?* 1919.

V. **Special Problems of Mark.**

1. The omission of the *Infancy section,* ch. I–II.
2. The omission of the *Primacy passage,* ch. VIII.
3. *III, 20–22,* admits of a quite *different interpretation* than the one usually given, so that ἐξέστη = "is become mad," need not be referred to Christ, but to the "multitude."

Literature: G. Hartmann, *Biblische Zeitschrift,* 1913, pp. 249 ff.

4. Are the *words* υἱοῦ θεοῦ (I. 1), although they are wanting in some MSS., an authentic reading?

Literature: Lagrange, *Évangile selon S. Marc.*

5. Are the *Latinisms* of the Gospel sufficient evidence of the theory (Baronius) of an original Latin composition?
6. Is "*Mark*" identical with "*John Mark*"?
7. How can the *self-velation* of Christ in Mark be explained and harmonized with His acceptance of the Messianic ovation at the solemn entrance into Jerusalem (XI, 1 ff.)?
8. Is the use of the title "*Son of Man*" an evidence of the priority of Mark?

9. The main problem is the **conclusion of Mark** (XVI, 9–20).

a) Eusebius, *Quaestio ad Mar.*, 1, remarks that these verses are missing in the best MSS.

b) In fact they are absent in our most valuable MSS., in the *Syrus Sinaiticus,* and in the oldest Sahidic version, but preserved in other equally valuable MSS. and also the oldest Fathers (Irenaeus).

c) Jerome testifies (*Ep. ad Hedibiam,* 3): "*Omnibus graecis libris paene hoc capitulum in fine non habentibus.*"

d) Moreover, a shorter as well as a longer ending of Mark is preserved in several MSS.

e) The *usual* longer ending is found in ACDEW, later Uncials, the old Latin Version, the Vulgate, Syrus Curet., Peshitta, the Memphytic and Gothic Version, Irenaeus, Tatian, Justin, etc.

f) *Jerome, C. Pelag.,* II, 15, knew of an addition to the longer ending after V, 14, which is strikingly confirmed by the recently discovered Freer MS. (W, *Codex Washingtoniensis*): "*Et illi satisfaciebant dicentes saeculum istud iniquitatis et incredulitatis sub Satana est, quae non sinit per immun-*

dos spiritus veram Dei apprehendi virtutem; idcirco jam nunc revela iustitiam tuam." Besides W has also the *answer* of the Lord.

g) *Conybeare, Expositor,* 1893, considers *Aristion* as the author of the ending, the opinion being based on the Gospel MS. of Etschmiazin, 989, which leaves a free space after XVI, 8, and places before the following ending in red ink *Eritzov* = *Ariston* = *Aristion.*

h) *Lagrange, Évangile selon S. Marc,* regards the ending as an *original fragment* by an Apostle or a disciple of the Lord, attached to the Gospel at an early date.

i) According to *van Kasteren, Revue Biblique,* 1902, the ending was *added* after Luke's Gospel had appeared.

j) According to the *Biblical Commission* the reasons for denying the inspired or canonical character or the authenticity of Mark XVI, 9-20 are not sufficient.

Literature: Conybeare, *The Expositor,* 1893, 241 ff.; Burgon, *The Last Twelve Verses of the Gospel according to S. Mark,* 1871; Lagrange, *Évangile selon St. Marc,* 1911; H. Ayles, *The Lost Conclusion of St. Mark's Gospel, Exp.,* 1918.

VI. **Decisions of the Biblical Commission concerning Mark, June 26, 1912.**

1. The Gospel of Mark is authentic.
2. It was written before 70 A.D.
3. Besides the teaching of Peter it uses other sources.
4. The reasons against the close of Mark are not such "*quae ius tribuant affirmandi eos non esse ut inspiratos et canonicos recipiendos, vel saltem demonstrent versuum eorundem Marcum non esse auctorem.*"

CHAPTER IV

THE GOSPEL OF ST. LUKE

LITERATURE

Cf. General literature on N. T. and the Gospels. Also
LAGRANGE, *Évangile selon S. Luc,* 1921.
ROSE, *L'Évangile selon S. Luc,* 1904.
SCHANZ, *Kommentar über das Evangelium des hl. Lukas,* 1883.
DARBY AND SMITH, *The Gospel according to St. Luke,* 1914.
FARRAR (*Cambridge Greek Test.*).
ADENEY (*Century Bible*).
PLUMMER (*International Critical Comm.*).
HARNACK, *Luke the Physician,* 1907.
WRIGHT, *The Gospel according to St. Luke,* 1900.
BRUCE, *The Kingdom of God,* 1904.
BLASS, *Evangelium secundum Lucam,* 1897.

I. Contents.

Prologue, I, 1–4.

1. *The childhood,* I, 5–IV, 13.
   a) Detailed account of the events of the early life of Christ, ending with the twelve-year-old Boy in the temple.
   b) The preaching of St. John as preparation for Christ's mission.
2. *Christ's public ministry in Galilee,* IV, 14–IX, 50.

3. The *great "addition"* (in comparison to Mark), in its relation to the narrative of Christ's journey *to Jerusalem,* IX, 51–XIX, 27.

(The new kingdom will be given to the pagans because of the infidelity of the Jews.)

4. *The passion and glorification of Christ,* XIX, 28–XXIV, 53.

II. The Author of the Gospel.

1. *Tradition proclaims Luke,* the disciple of Paul, as author of this Gospel.

a) The *Muratorian Canon* affirms: *"Lucas, iste medicus, post ascensum Christi, cum eum Paulus quasi itineris studiosum secum adsumpsisset, nomine suo ex opinione* [*Pauli*] *conscripsit."*

b) *Irenaeus* (Euseb., *H.E.,* V, 8, 3):

"Καὶ Λουκᾶς δέ, ὁ ἀκόλουθος Παύλου, τὸ ὑπ' ἐκείνου κηρυσσόμενον εὐαγγέλιον ἐν βιβλίῳ κατέθετο." ("Luke, the follower of Paul, wrote down the latter's Gospel-preaching in a book.")

c) It is confirmed by *Tertullian* (*Adv. Marc.,* IV, 5); Origen (*Hom., I, in Luc.*); Clement of Alex. (*Strom.,* I, 21); Eusebius (*H.E.,* III, 4, 6); Jerome (*De Vir. Ill.,* VII). Cf. also the prefaces of several Latin MSS.

2. *Personality of Luke.*

a) Col. IV, 14, is usually regarded as conclusive for what is confirmed by tradition and the terminology of the Gospel: that Luke was a physician of pagan extraction. Cf. Jerome, *De Vir. Ill.,* VII.

b) Col. IV, 14; Philem. 24; II Tim. IV, 11, show him to have been the companion of Paul in the first and second Roman captivity.

c) From the "We-sections" in the Acts we learn that he was with Paul

α) on the second missionary journey from Troas to Philippi (Acts XVI, 10 ff.);

β) on the third missionary journey from Philippi to Jerusalem (Acts XX, 5 ff.);

γ) on Paul's journey to his first captivity from Caesarea to Rome (Acts XXVII, 1 ff.).

d) *Eusebius, H.E.,* III, 4, 6, says that Luke was a physician, born in Antioch (*τὸ μὲν γένος ὢν τῶν ἀπ' Ἀντιοχείας, τὴν ἐπιστήμην δὲ ἰατρός*).

e) A 6th century tradition (Theodore Lector) reports that he was a painter.

f) His *language* is clearly that of a well-educated Greek; he frequently employs medical terms, *e.g.,* IV, 38,

against Mark I, 30. Cf. Jerome, *Ad Dam., Ep.* XX, 4. It is admitted that, besides Hebr., Luke's is the most literary style in the N. T. The preface is a masterpiece and betokens familiarity with medical literature, *e.g.,* Dioscorides. Cf. Hobart, *The Medical Language of St. Luke,* 1882; Harnack, *Luke the Physician,* 1907.

3. *Luke's dependence on Paul* is evident:

a) from his *vocabulary,* style, ideas. Eighty-four words are found in Luke and Paul only, and nowhere else in the Gospels. Cf. Luke XXII, 19 ff., and I Cor. XI, 24 ff., concerning the institution of the Eucharist. Cf. Hawkins, *Horae Synopticae,* Oxford, 1909.

b) The same *leading thought* runs through the Gospel of St. Luke and the Epistles of St. Paul: the infidelity of the Jews is the reason for the selection of the Gentiles.

c) The *universality* of the Gospel is accentuated as in St. Paul. Cf. especially the genealogy, where the mystic number 72 expresses the universality. Cf. Heer, *Die Stammbäume Jesu,* Freiburg i. B., 1910.

d) *Some fathers* believe (Cf. Euseb., *H.E.,*

III, 4, 7; also Jerome and Origen) that St. Paul in his Epistles occasionally refers to St. Luke's Gospel.

4. If we are to believe the Muratorian Canon, Luke was *not one of the immediate disciples* of Christ (*"Dominum tamen nec ipse vidit in carne"*).

5. *Characteristics of the Gospel.*

a) The prologue lays stress on Luke's standing upon the *tradition* (καθὼς παρέδωσαν ἡμῖν οἱ ἀπ' ἀρχῆς αὐτόπται) (I, 2);

b) His intention is to write *in order* (καθεξῆς . . . γράψαι); but this order is not strictly observed; or, rather, it is more logical than chronological.

c) His remark: "diligently attained to all things from the beginning" (παρηκολουθηκότι ἄνωθεν πᾶσιν ἀκριβῶς) shows that he used *oral and written sources.* The style of the *Infancy-section* (I, 5–II, 52) clearly evinces the use of a Semitic source. There is no evidence of a later interpolation, nor of an artificial composition by Luke in an intentionally archaic Semitic style (Pfleiderer, etc.). Cf. LAGRANGE, *Revue Biblique,* 1895.

6. *Critical theories* about Luke.

Amidst the variety of opinions there is unanimity on two points:

a) Luke used Mark and Q (= Logia);
b) In addition to these he drew from another source or sources for the material which he uses beyond Mark.

III. **The Purpose and Aim.**

1. The *address* "κράτιστε θεόφιλε" (I, 3) indicates that the Gospel is directed to a nobleman, but indirectly Luke addresses Christian readers of pagan antecedents, *viz.*, the Romans. (It is not probable that "Theophilus" is to be taken as a personification of the readers.)
   a) The Gospel of Luke, as πρῶτος λόγος to Theophilus (Acts I, 1) presupposes the same readers as the Acts, the δεύτερος λόγος to Theophilus.
   b) But the Acts are addressed to the Romans, since acquaintance with Roman places like the Forum Appii and Tres Tabernae (XXVIII, 15) is taken for granted on the part of the readers.
2. The *outstanding features* of the Gospel are:
   a) The *universality* of salvation.
   b) The *selection of the Gentiles* instead of the infidel Jews. Hence the O. T. passages of the Sermon on the Mount are omitted.
   c) Christ is the Savior primarily of the *sinners and the poor.*

IV. Date and Place of Composition.

1. *Date.*

a) The Gospel was certainly written *before 70 A.D.,* for XXI, 20, 31–32, indicate that the prophecy of the destruction of Jerusalem is not yet fulfilled.

The assertion of Holtzmann, Clemen, etc., that Flavius Josephus influenced Luke and that his Gospel cannot therefore have been written till after 100 A.D., is based on a gratuitous assumption. The similarities may easily be explained by a common source. Cf. against this theory: BELSER, *Theol. Quartalschrift,* Tübingen, 1896, 48 ff.

b) There is *no* agreement as to the *exact date.* Cornely, Kaulen, Belser, etc., favor 61–63 A.D.

When we consider

α. that the "πολλοὶ ἐπεχείρησαν ἀνατάξασθαι," etc. ("many have taken in hand to set forth in order a narration"), points to a time where Gospels already existed;

β. that Irenaeus (Euseb., *H.E.,* V, 8, 2–4) mentions Luke as the third one who wrote a Gospel, *i.e.,* after Mark;

γ. that the Acts, as "δεύτερος λόγος," were written ca. 63 (cf. Acts) and the Gospel, as "πρῶτος λόγος," was probably composed not long before,

the probable date seems to be 61–63.

c) The remark of Clement of Alex. (Euseb., *H.E.*, VI, 14, 5) that the Gospels containing *genealogies* were written before the others, is not indorsed by any other patristic witness.

2. *The place* of composition is doubtful.
   a) Jerome and Gregory Nazianzen think it was Greece;
   b) Most of the modern scholars, Rome.

V. Special Problems of the Gospel.

1. Harnack, Conybeare, Holtzmann, Usener, Pfleiderer, Loisy, etc., would eliminate *Luke I, 34–35, as an interpolation.* Cf. in defense of the verses: BARDENHEWER, *Mariä Verkündigung,* Freiburg i.B., 1905. Cf. Biblical Commission, June 26, 1912.
2. The *theory of Blass,* similar to his hypothesis concerning the Acts, *viz.,* that Luke published two editions:
   1. the edition of Caesarea — α-text;
   2. the edition of Rome — β-text;

   is untenable.
3. The *Eucharistic words,* XXII, 19b–20, are rejected by some critical scholars, because

they are missing in D and some old Latin MSS. Cf. for their authenticity: BERNING, *Die Einsetzung der Hl. Eucharistie,* Münster, 1901.

4. The passage on the *bloody sweat,* XXII, 43–44, is rejected by some critics because it is missing in a number of important MSS. as ℵ, B, A, etc. But according to the decision of the Biblical Commission, June 26, 1912, it is to be accepted as authentic. Cf. SCRIVENER, *A Plain Introduction,* etc.
5. XXIII, 34, "Father, forgive them, for they know not what they do" is also suspected, for the same reason.
6. *Luke X, 22 ff.,* is a parallel to Matthew XI, 27, mentioned above amongst the Problems of Matthew.
7. The *"Magnificat,"* I, 46–55, is attributed by Harnack, Burkitt, Schmiedel, Loisy, etc., to Elizabeth, on the strength of various MSS. which ascribe it to the latter. Objective textual criticism maintains the authorship of Mary. Cf. BARDENHEWER, *Mariä Verkündigung,* 1905; also DURAND, RB, 1898. Biblical Commission, Decision of June 26, 1912.
8. *The style of Luke.* Cf. CADBURY, *The Style and Literary Method of Luke, Harvard Theol. Studies,* 1920.
9. There is no convincing argument that Luke

depends on Josephus. Cf. SALMON, *Introduction to the New Testament.*

10. The *genealogy* of Luke is that of Mary. Cf. HEER, *Die Stammbäume Jesu,* 1910.
11. The *Preface* of the Gospel. Cf. WHITAKER, *The Philology of St. Luke's Preface, Expositor,* 1920.

VI. **The Decisions of the Biblical Commission concerning the Gospel, June 26, 1912.**

1. The Gospel of St. Luke is authentic.
2. So are Luke I–II and XXII, 42 ff.
3. The author of the "Magnificat" is Mary.
4. Luke is third in order of time among the Evangelists.
5. He wrote before the end of the first captivity of Paul (61–63).
6. Besides the preaching of St. Paul he used other sources.

CHAPTER V

THE SYNOPTIC PROBLEM

LITERATURE

Camerlynck et Coppieters, *Evangeliorum Synopsis,* Bruges, 1910.

Jacquier, *Histoire des Livres du N. T.,* Paris, 1912.

Studies in the Synoptic Problem, ed. by W. Sanday, Oxford, 1911.

Jacquier, *La Solution du Problème Synoptique,* Tour, 1911.

Hawkins, *Horae Synopticae,* Oxford, 1909.

Jackson, *The Present State of the Synoptic Problem,* New York, 1909.

Wernle, *Die synoptische Frage,* Freiburg i.B., 1899.

Batiffol, *Six Leçons sur les Évangiles,* Paris, 1909.

Lagrange, *Évangile selon St. Marc,* Paris, 1911.

Bonaccorsi, *I tre Primi Vangeli e la Critica Letteraria ossia la Questione Sinottica,* Monza, 1904.

A. Wright, *A Synopsis of the Gospels in Greek,* London, 1903.

Larfeld, *Griechische Synopse der vier neutestamentlichen Evangelien,* Tübingen, 1911.

I. The Respective Decisions of the Biblical Commission.

June 19, 1911:

1) The Apostle Matthew is in truth the *author* of the Gospel published under his name.

2) The opinion defending the *priority of Mat-*

thew over Mark and Luke is *sufficiently supported.*

June 26, 1912:

1) The *chronological order* of the Synoptic Gospels is: *Aramaic Matthew, Mark, Luke.* But the opinion is not excluded that Mark and Luke wrote before the *Greek* Matthew.

2) Mark wrote the Gospel of Peter, Luke the Gospel of Paul, which does not exclude "other trustworthy *sources,* either *oral* or *written.*"

3) Provided the authenticity and integrity of the Synoptic Gospels, "the substantial identity of the Greek Gospel of Matthew with its primitive original" and the traditional "order of time," are maintained, it is lawful in explaining the similarities or dissimilarities —

a) "to *dispute freely* about all the varying and opposing opinions of authors";

b) "to appeal to hypotheses of *oral* or *written tradition,* or even to the *dependence* of one on the other or on both that precede."

4) These ecclesiastical principles are not observed by those "who, unsupported by any testimony of tradition or by any historical argument, lightly embrace the hypothesis commonly known as that of 'the two sources,' which tries to explain the composition of the Greek Gospel of Matthew and the Gospel of Luke mainly by their dependence on the

Gospel of Mark and on the so-called collection of 'Sayings of the Lord.'"

5) Therefore the "Two-source" theory cannot be freely advocated.

N.B. The Biblical Commission does not entirely reject the assumption of sources, but only the hypothesis of the combination of the canonical Mark and Q (= Logia) as a source for the *Greek* Matthew and Luke.

II. Outlines of the Synoptic Problem.

1) Matthew, Mark, and Luke are so closely *interrelated* that a synopsis is easily constructed by the juxtaposition of the similar texts in parallel columns. Hence these three Gospels are called the Synoptic Gospels. This synopsis shows the most surprising *similarities* and even identities, but at the same time also striking *differences* — a situation unique in the history of the literature of the world.

2) **Similarities:**

a) A comparison shows that only one-sixth in Matthew, one-fortieth in Mark, and one-third in Luke are *new* material. The rest is common to all three Gospels or to two of them, whereas of the 83 narratives reported by the Synoptics in common, very little is mentioned by St. John. This peculiar selection of the historical material of

Christ's life, compared with John, cannot be accidental.

b) Whereas Mark has very little new material not contained in the two other Synoptics, Matthew and Luke have a considerable surplus over Mark, mostly consisting of sayings of the Lord.

This surplus of Matthew and Luke, although given by each in different order, groups and wording, represents essentially the same material, *e.g.:*

α) Birth and childhood of Christ;
β) The preaching of John the Baptist;
γ) The temptation of Christ;
δ) The story of the captain of Capharnaum;
ε) A number of sayings of Jesus;
ζ) The Sermon on the Mount;
η) A number of Parables;
θ) The resurrection and ascension narratives.

If Matthew and Luke wrote independently of each other, as is the case, they must have used a common source, either *oral* or *written.*

c) The *inter-relation* of the Synoptics is apparent, not only in the likeness of

the contents, but even more strikingly in the similarity and even *identity of their form,* construction, order, and the linguistic peculiarities of words throughout a series of sentences or pericopes (especially in the sections of sayings), including even the smallest details; *e.g.:*

Matth. IX, 4 ff. — Mark II, 8 ff. — Luke V, 22 ff.
Matth. XXIV, 32–36 — Mark XIII, 28–32 — Luke XXI, 29–33
Matth. XI, 7–11 — — Luke VII, 24–28
Matth. XIX, 16–26 — Mark X, 17–27 — Luke XVIII, 18–27

This phenomenon can

α) hardly be explained by a stereotyped, common, *oral tradition,* as this is too liable to changes in detail;

β) but more satisfactorily by a common *written source,* be this source one of the Synoptics themselves or one outside of the Synoptics.

d) More striking still is the *identity in the wording of quotations* from the O. T., though differing from the Hebrew original and from the Septuagint, *e.g.:* Matth. III, 3 — Mark I, 3 — Luke III, 4 = Is. XL, 3. Likewise *Sayings of the Lord,* originally Aramaic, are given by all three in the same

Greek version, identical as to form, construction, and order of words; *e.g.*, Matth. XXIV — Mark XIII — Luke XXI. This again can be explained

α) scarcely by an oral tradition, which readily changes expressions;

β) better by a common written source outside or inside the Synoptic circle.

e) The *most striking* feature is the **identity of plan and structure** *of the Synoptics* in general, comprising 1st the Galilean, and 2nd the Judean activity of the Lord. Within this wide plan the arrangement of the material is essentially identical.

This *cannot be explained by any oral tradition,* as it is impossible that the whole plan and outlines of the Gospel were known by heart in a stereotyped form.

f) If the surplus of Matthew and Luke is eliminated, then there is left practically the order and material of Mark.

3) The **differences** in the Synoptics are no less surprising in their connection with the similarities.

a) The 83 common narratives are counterbalanced by *about 130 portions* which they have *not in common.*

b) Within the narratives common to all three there are many instances where they *vary as to the grouping of materials* and the wording of sentences. Each has *insertions, omissions,* and *transpositions* of its own, *e.g.,* the report of the resurrection and ascension. This would point

α) to different written or oral sources, or

β) to changes in spite of the use of the same source.

c) Especially the *surplus of Matthew and Luke,* in the material common to both, shows a different wording, composition, and arrangement; in a word, a different plan in each; *e.g.,* the *genealogies* differ in character and location in Matth. and Luke; the *Sermon on the Mount* is given in Matth. in one continuous section, but subdivided in Luke. This state of affairs, too, would point:

α) to different written or oral sources; or

β) to intentional alterations of the same source.

4) **The Inter-relation of the Three First Gospels.**

a) *Matthew and Mark.*

α) Matthew has a large amount of

material not found in Mark, whereas Mark has very little that is not contained in Matthew.

β) The order of Mark is also that of Matthew, but Matthew interrupts it in four places by insertions.

γ) The Greek of Matthew is better than that of Mark, who uses rather inelegant expressions, *e.g.*, Matth. IX, 2: κλίνη = Mark II, 4: κράβατος; Matth. IX, 18: ἐτελεύτησεν = Mark V, 23; ἐσχάτως ἔχει. For the monotonous καί of Mark we read in Matth. τότε, δέ, etc.

δ) Besides, there are characteristic variations in reports of the same event, *e.g.*, Matth. VIII, 16, Jesus heals all (πάντας) the sick; Mark I, 34, on the same occasion he heals *many* (πολλούς). Matth. XIII, 58, Jesus *did not* perform mighty works (οὐκ ἐποίησεν); whereas Mark VI, 5, writes: he *could* not perform these works (οὐκ ἐδύνατο . . . ποῆσαι).

ε) Matth. has in more than 200 cases, where he presents the material

of Mark, a wording different from Mark; which cannot be explained if Matthew had before him our canonical Mark. *E.g.,* the narrative of the multiplication of the loaves.

Conclusion.

1) According to the *positive historical tradition* of Irenaeus, *Haer.,* III, 1, 1 (Euseb., *H.E.,* V, 8, 3); Origen (Euseb., *H.E.,* VI, 25, 3); Augustine, *De Consensu Ev.,* I, 2, 3, Matthew's Gospel is the first in the order of composition. This is also emphasized by the Biblical Commission for the Aramaic Matthew. Hence *Matthew does not depend on Mark.* Besides, conceding such dependence, it is beyond comprehension why he should have changed his source in more than 200 cases as to the wording, while retaining the outlines and plan of Mark.

2) *Neither is Mark indebted to Matthew,* for his numerous alterations as to wording would be as inexplicable as his (Mark's) substitution of a rather poor for Matthew's bet-

ter Greek; or his omission of the Infancy section or of the Sermon on the Mount; or why he should report less important details literally, while changing the text in important instances (*e.g.,* the Eucharistic consecration).

3) Therefore *Matthew and Mark wrote independently,* which explains, by internal reasons, the statement of Irenaeus, *Haer.,* III, 1, 1: "Matthew published his Gospel among the Hebrews. . . . Mark, the disciple and interpreter of Peter, also transmitted to us in writing those things which *Peter* had preached." Mark uses Peter's Gospel, not Matthew's.

b) *Matthew and Luke.*

α) *Neither does Luke depend on Matthew.* If he did, there would be no reason whatever for his breaking up the disposition of the Sermon on the Mount according to Matthew; he would have needlessly inverted the genealogy of Matthew, registering 72 members instead of the 42 mentioned by

Matthew; his change of the sequence in the passage on Christ's temptation would be entirely uncalled for. Then, too, their surplus account beyond that of Mark shows in its quite different arrangement that they are not directly interdependent.

β) In passing it may be mentioned, against Spitta's theory which supposes Luke as the "*Grundschrift*," *i.e.*, the original source of the Synoptics, that Matthew did not depend on Luke.

γ) From which it follows that *Matthew and Luke also wrote independently* of each other, which is again confirmed by the statement of Irenaeus, that Luke depended on St. Paul's Gospel; *Haer.*, III, 1, 1: "Luke, the attendant of Paul, recorded in a book the Gospel which Paul had declared."

c) *Mark and Luke.*

α) *Nor does Luke depend on Mark,* for the reason that such a supposition would leave his changes of Mark's text, his displacements and abbreviations un-

explained. Thus, according to Matth. and Mark the Transfiguration took place six days after Cesarea Philippi; accordind to Luke IX, 28, it happened about 8 days after this event.

β) Here also Irenaeus' testimony strengthens our conclusion.

III. The Synoptic Theories.

Attempts to solve the problem have been made since the early days of Christianity, *e.g.,* by Origen, Julius Africanus, Ambrose, Chrysostom, and especially by St. Augustine in his *De Consensu Evangelistarum.* The following theories are held to-day:

1. The *theory of mutual dependence* (in various forms). Recommended by *Augustine, De Cons. Evang.,* I, 2 (*"Marcus pedissequus et breviator Matthaei"*), it is held by Schanz, Keil, Belser, etc.

Broadly it supposes that one Evangelist's Gospel was used by another in the order of Matthew, Mark, Luke. But:

a) It has been established that the three Synoptic writers are independent of one another.

b) The theory can explain only the similarities, not the differences, *e.g.,* why Mark, notwithstanding his usual brev-

ity, is in many cases more copious than Matthew, or why he changes, modifies, etc.

c) In fact, the theory calls for aid from the theory of oral tradition.

2. The *theory of oral tradition,* introduced by Gieseler, is held by Cornely, Kaulen, Knabenbauer, LeCamus, Schegg, Fillion, Westcott, Godet, Nösgen, etc. It bases the Synoptic Gospels on an original, oral, stereotyped Gospel, propagated by catechetical instruction within the primitive Church.

a) This theory explains the discrepancies and a number of the similarities.

b) But it is unable to explain the identities in every detail of many lengthy pericopes, especially the identity of the *plan* running through the Synoptics; this could not have been remembered by everybody.

c) It cannot explain why John is so different from the Synoptics, when he certainly had access to the same tradition.

d) Therefore it is usually incorporated into the theory of mutual dependence.

3. The *combination of the theories of oral tradition and mutual dependence.* Cf. Kaulen, etc., above.

It cannot explain the Synoptic problem, for it presupposes the mutual interdepend-

ence of the Synoptics, which in reality does not exist; besides, the difficulties affecting each theory for itself are not removed by their combination.

4. The *theory of one primitive source.* Lessing and Eichhorn had accepted an Aramaic proto-Gospel as a common basis for the Synoptics. Wilke finally declared the Gospel of Mark to be the primitive Gospel. This theory is held in various forms by Resch, Marshall, Dalman, Abbot, etc.

   a) The existence of Gospel sources before the canonical Gospels cannot be denied; the inspired author of the third Gospel, Luke, expressly states, I, 1: "Many (Πολλοί) have taken in hand to set forth in order a narration of the things that have been accomplished among us."

   b) But these theories claim too full a knowledge of the nature of these sources for which we have no historical witnesses, and, "*qui nimis probat, nihil probat.*"

5. The *theory of fragments or various sources.* It presents a further development of the former theory. After its originator, Schleiermacher, it alleges a number of sources worked up into the canonical Gospels. It is held by Loisy, Wrede, J. Weiss, etc.

a) The theory is favored by Luke I, 1: the πολλοί-Gospels.

b) But it also shares the fault of the former theory: knowing too much about the sources.

6. The *"Two-source Theory"*—"Zweiquellen-Hypothese"—exists in numerous variants; to express it briefly, it traces the Synoptic Gospels back

a. to Mark (a proto-Mark or our canonical Mark) as the first and main source;

b. to the Logia = Q, the common source of Matthew and Luke for their surplus beyond Mark, which consists mainly of discourses. The title "Logia" is taken from the testimony of Papias that Matthew wrote the "Logia" of the Lord (Euseb., *H.E.*, III, 39, 4).

Within these two limits opinions differ

α) about the Mark-source, some assuming our canonical Mark; others a proto-Mark; others a pre-proto-Mark, etc.

β) about the "Logia," some assuming a collection of discourses made by Matthew and mistaken by Papias for the Gospel of Matthew; others a collection of discourses prepared in Apostolic times.

In its radical form this theory sacrifices the priority and authenticity of Matthew, and has a tend-

ency to proclaim the "less supernatural" Gospel of Mark as the first and primitive document, in contrast to Baur, who considered it the last,— the document of reconciliation between Judaism and pagan Christianity. (Weisse, Holtzmann, Jülicher, J. Weiss, Stapfer, Wernle, Harnack, Moffatt, etc.)

In its conservative form it sacrifices only the priority of the *Greek Matthew* (Lagrange, Durand, Chapman, Batiffol, Jacquier, Camerlynck, Coppieters, Barnes, Gigot, Sickenberger, etc.)

Conclusion:

The "Two-source theory" cannot solve the Synoptic problem because

1) it overthrows the historical data (Irenaeus, etc.) asserting that Matthew's is chronologically the first Gospel.
2) It overlooks the impossibility of Matthew, even in the Greek form, having used Mark (cf. above).
3) It interprets the "Logia" of Papias as a collection of "discourses," whereas "Logia" undoubtedly means the Gospel of Matthew. (Cf. Matthew.)

IV. **The Circle of Facts, within which the Solution of the Synoptic Problem must be sought.**

1) *Facts of external evidence.*
   a) The *chronological order* according to the testimony of tradition (Irenaeus, etc.) emphasized by the Biblical Com-

mission, is: Matthew, Mark, Luke.

b) The *Greek Matthew* must be *essentially the same as the Aramaic,* as is indicated by the testimony of Papias (Euseb., *H.E.,* III, 39, 1): "Every one interpreted [= translated] them as he was able," and inculcated by the Biblical Commission.

c) The "*Logia*" of Papias undoubtedly signify the *Gospel* of Matthew (cf. the Gospel of Matthew).

2) *Facts of internal evidence.*

a) The Synoptic Gospels are *written independently* of one another, Matthew being intended for the Hebrews, Mark being St. Peter's Gospel, Luke being St. Paul's Gospel (Irenaeus).

b) The *oral tradition cannot solve* the problem, as shown above.

c) *Nor* can *the theories of one or more sources,* as described above.

3) Yet the *key to the solution* is only to be found in *pre-Gospel sources,* expressly mentioned by Luke, I, 1: "Many have taken in hand to set forth in order a narration of the things that have been accomplished among us." As Luke declares his intention to perform a similar task in his own work, we conclude that the many pre-Gospel sources must have contained narratives as well as discourses.

V. Attempt at a Solution.

1) It is obvious that the *"many" narratives* of Luke I, 1, originated in Palestine, or rather Jerusalem, the birth-place of Christianity. They must have been written chiefly in Greek, as the detailed agreement of the Synoptics shows sufficiently. The simultaneous use of Aramaic sources may account for the differences.

2) The locality of these "narratives" was the original home-centre of the Christian Apostles. It is not probable that Peter and Paul left Jerusalem without taking along an account of the "accomplishments." *A fortiori* Matthew, writing in Palestine, must have been in possession of it.

3) Matthew was the first to write his Gospel, availing himself of several sources;
   a) one containing mainly narratives;
   b) one consisting chiefly of discourses:
   c) He may have used other (*i.e.,* Aramaic) sources, *e.g.,* for the Infancy section, the genealogies, etc.

4) Mark wrote the Gospel of Peter in Rome, drawing on essentially the *same "narration"-source* of Palestine, but evidently *not on the "discourses."*

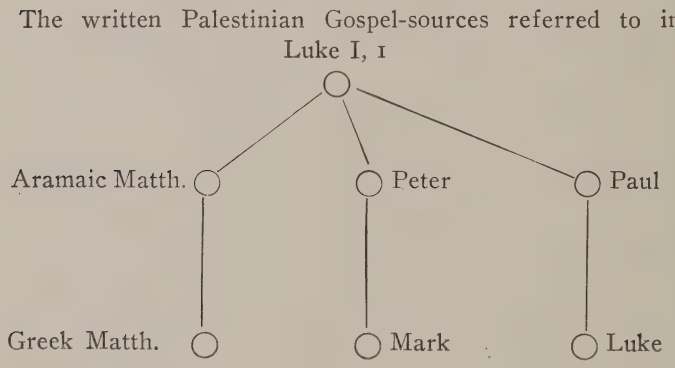
5) Luke wrote the Gospel of Paul, based on the *same "narration"-source* and must

have made use of other sources, similar to those of Matthew, *i.e.*, the "discourses" and Aramaic sources.

6) Besides, *oral tradition* and the *special purpose* of each Gospel exercised their own influence, which accounts for the many special characteristics of the Synoptics.

In this outline of the solution of the Synoptic Problem, based on Luke I, 1, the similarities and differences find an adequate explanation.

The *diagram* of the origin of the Synoptics would be as follows:



CHAPTER VI

THE GOSPEL OF ST. JOHN

LITERATURE

Cf. the general literature on the N. T. and the Gospels. Also

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I. Contents.

Prologue, I, 1–18.

1. *Public Ministry of Christ,* I, 19–XII, 50.
   a) John the Baptist, I, 19–51.
   b) Short stay in Galilee, II, 1–12.
   c) Christ's activity during His visits to Jerusalem with episodes from Judea, Galilee, and Samaria, II, 13–XII, 50.
2. *The history of the passion,* XIII–XIX.
   a) Last supper and last discourse to the Apostles, XIII–XVI.
   b) Christ's prayer, XVII.
   c) His passion and death, XVIII–XIX.
3. *The glorification of Christ,* XX–XXI.
   a) The resurrection, XX.
   b) The apparitions of Christ, XXI.

II. The Author of the Gospel.

1. *External evidence.*
   a) The famous testimony of *Irenaeus* (Euseb., *H.E.,* V, 8, 2–4) reads: "Ἔπειτα Ἰωάννης, ὁ μαθητὴς τοῦ Κυρίου, ὁ καὶ ἐπὶ τὸ στῆθος αὐτοῦ ἀναπεσών, καὶ αὐτὸς ἐξέδωκεν τὸ εὐαγγέλιον, ἐν Ἐφέσῳ τῆς Ἀσίας διατρίβων." ("Then John, the

disciple of the Lord, who also leaned on His breast, himself published also the Gospel, while he was in Ephesus in Asia.")

b) *Theophilus* of Antioch: (*Ad. Autol.*, II, 22): "Ἰωάννης λέγει· Ἐν ἀρχῇ ἦν ὁ λόγος," which is the beginning of the Gospel.

c) *Clement of Alexandria* tells us (Euseb., *H.E.*, VI, 14, 7) that John, as the last of the Gospel-writers, composed a "pneumatic" Gospel ("πνευματικὸν . . . εὐαγγέλιον") in opposition to the "somatic" Gospel of the Synoptics, the "πνευματικόν" being a reference to John's insistence on the divinity of Christ. Cf. also Ignatius in numerous places, and Justin, I *Apol.*, LXI, Dial. LXXXVIII, the Muratorian Canon, who also bear testimony to the authorship of John, the favorite disciple of Christ.

2. *Internal evidence.*

a) The minute details (I, 29, 39; II, 10) reported by the author, and his complete familiarity with Jewish customs and the conditions in Palestine (X, 22 ff., etc.) characterize him as an *eye-witness*, and a *Jew of Palestine*.

b) He must be *one of the Apostles*, for only as such could he know the intimate de-

tails within the Apostolic College (Cf. II, 11; III, 1 ff; especially the description of the last supper.)

c) There is frequent reference to an *anonymous* disciple or "the disciple whom Jesus loved" (XIII, 23, etc.). Evidently the author of the Gospel himself is this disciple.

d) As a matter of fact, this "disciple whom Jesus loved," "ὃν ἠγάπα ὁ Ἰησοῦς," "who rested on His breast," "ὃς καὶ ἀνέπεσεν ἐπὶ τὸ στῆθος αὐτοῦ" (XXI, 20), is directly *identified* with the author of the Gospel, XXI, 24: "Οὗτός ἐστιν ὁ μαθητὴς ὁ μαρτυρῶν περὶ τούτων καὶ ὁ γράψας ταῦτα."

V. 24 is, to say the least, of very early origin, and probably by St. John himself.

3. *Objections:*

a) No Jewish fisherman could have written such a speculative, philosophical, and universal Gospel (Holtzmann).— But in the course of half a century even a moderately talented fisherman could have acquired the supposed qualifications.

b) We find no unity in the Gospel, hence not a single author but

α) a fundamental substratum, and

β) a later elaboration superimposed upon it (Spitta).

Such a distinction, however, is not borne out by the uniform and systematic plan admitted by the majority of critics.

4. *Personality of St. John.*

a) John = יְהוֹחָנָן (God is gracious) is the son of the *Galilean* fisherman Zebedee, and of Salome, one of the pious women who followed Jesus to the cross (cf. Matth. XXVII, 56). His brother was James, the elder, his home town probably Bethsaida (cf. I, 44 and Matth. IV, 18–22).

b) He was originally a disciple of John the Baptist and one of the first Apostles to follow Christ (I, 37–40). According to Mark III, 17, John and James received from Christ the surname "Boanerges," *i.e.,* "Sons of Thunder." With Peter and James he belonged to the *favorite* Apostles of the Lord (cf. Mt. Tabor, Mt. of Olives, Resurrection). He followed the Lord to the foot of the Cross and received His "last will" (XIX, 26).

c) After the Resurrection he labored *with Peter* in Jerusalem (Acts III, 1) and Samaria (Acts VIII, 14).

d) According to Gal. II, 9 he was present at the *Council of Jerusalem* and approved of the missionary plans of Paul.

e) Later he lived in *Ephesus.*

α. Thus Irenaeus: "ἐν Ἐφέσῳ τῆς Ἀσίας" (Euseb., *H.E.,* V, 8).

β. Polycrates, Bishop of Ephesus, in a letter to Pope Victor, says: "Ἰωάννης . . . ἐν Ἐφέσῳ κεκοίμηται" (Euseb., *H.E.,* III, 31, 3).

γ. Cf. Jerome, *De Vir. Ill.,* IX. A more exact determination of St. John's stay in Ephesus is impossible. But it is quite improbable that John resided in Ephesus while St. Paul was living there about A. D. 54-56, without Paul's ever mentioning the fact.

f) According to Apoc. I, 9, he was temporarily *exiled to Patmos.* This is confirmed by Tertullian (*De Praescr.,* XXXVI), who tells us that in Rome John was cast into boiling oil and later exiled. Cf. also Clement of Alex. (Euseb., *H.E.,* III, 23, 6; Origen, *In Matth.,* XVI, 6).

g) He *returned to Ephesus under Nerva:*

"Νερούας . . . Ἰωάννην ἐκ τῆς νήσου ἀπέλυσεν οἰκεῖν ἐν Ἐφέσῳ" (Georgios Hamartolos. Cf. Funk *Patr. Ap.*, I).

h) According to tradition he *died under Trajan* (98-117). Cf. Irenaeus, *Haer.*, II, 22, 5.

Note 1. Against the Ephesian tradition it is objected:

a) That *Papias* (according to Georgios Hamartolos, IX^th cent.), who in turn agrees with a fragment of the historian Philippus Sidetes V^th century), reports: "Ἰωάννης . . . καὶ Ἰάκωβος . . . ὑπὸ Ἰουδαίων ἀνῃρέθησαν." (Cf. Funk, *Patres Apost.*, I.)

And again: "ὅτι ὑπὸ Ἰουδαίων ἀνῃρέθη" (cf. Lightfoot, *Apost. Fathers,* Fragment VI of Papias), *i.e.*, that John together with James was killed by the Jews.

Cf. Boor, *Neue Fragmente des Papias,* 1888.

b) That *Ignatius,* in his Epistle to the Ephesians, does not mention it.

But it must be recalled that:

a) The indirect Papias-testimony is not authentic beyond doubt.

b) Even if it were, it does not state that John was killed in Palestine.

c) Georgios Hamartolos himself is convinced that John died in Ephesus: "ἐτελεύτησεν ἐν Ἐφέσῳ" (Cf. Lightfoot, *Apost. Fathers,* Fragment VI of Papias).

d) The "*argumentum e silentio*" of Ignatius is not conclusive.

Note 2. The "**John the Presbyter**" Problem.

Literature: CHAPMAN, *John the Presbyter and the Fourth Gospel,* Oxford, 1911.

Eusebius (*H.E.,* III, 39) has preserved a passage of Papias which creates difficulties.

Papias says that his ἐξηγήσεις contain only what he learned from the Presbyters, "*παρὰ τῶν πρεσβυτέρων*," what goes back therefore to the Lord Himself, the source of truth. Then follows the much disputed passage:

"*Εἰ δέ που καί παρηκολουθηκώς τις τοῖς πρεσβυτέροις ἔλθοι, τοὺς τῶν πρεσβυτέρων ἀνέκρινον λόγους· τί Ἀνδρείας, ἢ τί Πέτρος εἶπεν, ἢ τί Φίλιππος, ἢ τί Θομᾶς ἢ Ἰάκωβος; ἢ τί Ἰωάννης ἢ Ματθαῖος, ἤτις ἕτερος τῶν τοῦ Κυρίου μαθητῶν; ἅ τε Ἀριστίων καὶ ὁ πρεσβύτερος Ἰωάννης, τοῦ Κυρίου μαθηταί, λέγουσιν.*"

"But when, therefore, by chance one of the followers of the *Presbyters* came, I tried to find out the words (teachings) of the *Presbyters:* (namely) what Andrew or what Peter, or what Philip, or what Thomas or James, or what John or Matthew, or any other one of the *disciples of the Lord used to preach* (εἶπεν); and what Aristion and *the Presbyter John,* the *disciples* of the Lord, are preaching" (λέγουσιν).

In this remarkable text

1. John is once enumerated amongst the Apostles;

2. then he is called Presbyter and placed after Aristion.

Therefore Eusebius (*l.c.*) supposed two individuals by the name "Ἰωάννης" and mentions the graves of two "Johns" in Ephesus, "δύο ἐν Ἐφέσῳ γενέσθαι μνήματα."

Hence the divergence of opinions:

a) that there was only one Presbyter John in Ephesus who was confounded with the Apostle John: Holtzmann, Jülicher, Corssen, Bousset, etc.;

b) that the Apostle himself was the Presbyter: Chapman, Cornely, Bardenhewer, Belser, Knabenbauer, Funk, etc.;

c) that besides the Apostle John there was also a Presbyter John: Jacquier, Calmes, Van Bebber, Weizsäcker, etc.

The most *probable opinion* is that the Presbyter John and the Apostle John are **identical,** for

a) The context shows that "πρεσβύτερος" means "*Apostle,*" and the sense of the passage is: When I met one of the followers of the Apostles I tried to find out the preaching of the Apostles, namely, what Andrew, etc., *used to preach* (εἶπεν).

b) The main problem lies in the following words: "And what Aristion and the Presbyter John . . . *are teaching*" (λέγουσιν). It is evident:

α) that εἶπεν refers to the past, λέγουσιν to the present;

β) that the former seven disciples (= Apostles) are not preaching any more, as they are dead, while Aristion and the Apostle John are still preaching.

γ) that John is called πρεσβύτερος emphatically like the others, since he is an *Apostle* like the others, whereas Aristion is not addressed by this title.

c) Hence the *Apostle-Presbyter John is mentioned twice,* for he belongs to those authorities of Papias who preached in the past and are preaching at the present time.

d) Besides St. John likes to *call himself* Presbyter emphatically. (Cf. beginning of IInd and IIIrd Epistle of John.)

5) *The* **critical theories** concerning the Gospel are manifold.

a) Regarding the *provenance* of the ideas of the Gospel it is chiefly Jewish Alexandrian Philosophy and Stoicism that are considered as the influential factors.

b) As to the *authorship* some suppose a Johannine original with later additions (Spitta, Wellhausen, Soltau, etc.); others assume a revision of the original, the latter having a different purpose (Harnack, Bacon, etc.).

c) *Concerning the integrity of the Gospel* a

great number of dislocations and interpolations are supposed to have taken place. The most important of these suppositions concern besides II, 13–22 ("the cleansing of the temple"): III, 5, the "catholic" addition to the reference to Baptism; VI, 51–59, the "Eucharistic addition"; esp. Chap. XV–XVI; Chap. XXI, and the famous *pericope adulterae,* Chap. VII, 53–VIII, 11. At all events only Chap. I–XX are attributed to the original Gospel, which is supposed to have been written not by St. John, but by an anonymous scribe of St. John's school — all theories without proof.

III. **The Purpose and Aim.**

1. The main purpose is expressed plainly in XX, 31: "These are written that you may believe that Jesus is the '*Christ,*' the '*Son of God*'" — to prove the Messiahship and Divinity of Christ.
2. The prologue suggests a *secondary purpose:* to prove that Christ is the real and true *Logos-Savior* in contrast to the Hellenic-Jewish Logos ideas prevailing at St. John's time (cf. I, 1 ff.).
3. The theme of St. John is proved by the fact that Jesus is the *fulfilment of the O. T. Paschal Lamb* (cf. XIX, 31–33).

4. The *occasion* which called forth the Gospel was always in dispute:
   a) Irenaeus (*Adv. Haer.,* III, 11, 1) thinks it was written against Cerinthus and the Nicolaites.
   b) Jerome (*De Vir. Ill.,* IX) also against the Ebionites.
   c) Victorinus, *In Apoc.,* XI, 1, and others (Hilary, Chrysostom) against the Gnostics.

   Hence a *diversity of opinions in recent times:* some alleging Cerinthus, some Docetism or Ebionitism or Judaism or Gnosticism as the cause of the Gospel. According to the Tübingen School, John's Gospel attempted to reconcile pagan-Christian and Jewish-Christian tendencies by the doctrine of the Logos. Some went so far as to declare it a Gnostic product written by Menander, or an outgrowth of Jewish-Alexandrian speculation. It is certain from the Prologue already mentioned that it is directed against Gnostic or semi-Gnostic tendencies.

5. The *readers* are
   a) partly *Jewish-Christians,* as shown by the use of O. T. quotations and antagonism to the Jews (cf. XIX, 11);
   b) partly *pagan-Christians,* as is evident from the universal appeal of the Gos-

pel and the frequent Greek translation of Hebrew expressions.

Their home is most probably Asia Minor, particularly the neighborhood of Ephesus, where Judaistic and Gnostic heresies began to disturb the communities. (Cf. St. Paul: Col. and Eph.)

6. The Gospel throughout bears the marks of a *historical document,* and the theory of Loisy (*Le Quatrième Évangile,* Paris, 1903), that it is merely an *allegorical* narrative, is not based on any sound reason. Cf. against him: CHAUVIN, *Les Idées de M. Loisy sur le Quatrième Évangile,* Paris, 1906.

Corollary: The Relation between St. John and the Synoptics.

Literature: POPE'S *"Aids" to the Study of the Bible,* II, 1918; WORSLEY, *The Fourth Gospel and the Synoptics,* 1909.

I. *The Discrepancies.*

1. There is admittedly a great *difference* in regard to the contents as well as their presentation. Very few events are recorded in both. In the Synoptics *Galilee* is the usual scene of the narrative; in St. John, *Judea,* and particularly the feasts at Jerusalem. In St. John Christ exhibits Himself distinctly in the *splendor of divinity,* whereas the Synoptics rather stress His *human character.*

2. John's thesis: Christ the *"Son of God,"* is sys-

tematically elaborated according to a strictly *uniform plan,* which cannot be traced with the same distinctness in the Synoptics.

3. John's style and phraseology differ from those of the Synoptics. His favorite contrast is "*light*" and "*darkness.*" He records *no parables* reported by the Synoptics.
4. The chronology also seems to differ on various points, especially on the day of the "*Last Supper*" and the duration of Christ's *public life.*
5. But with due allowance for all differences there are *no contradictions.* The very description of Christ and His consciousness essentially tallies with that of the Synoptics (cf. Matth. XI, 27 ff.).

II. *The Solution:*

1. The best explanation of the problem is this: John supplements the Synoptics and is based upon them.
2. As early as *Clement of Alex.* (Euseb., *H.E.,* VI, 14, 7) it was suggested that the Synoptics wrote a "*somatic,*" John a "*pneumatic*" Gospel. Cf. also Origen, Prologue to *Comm. in Joan.,* Augustine, *Tract. in Joan.,* XXXVI, 1.
3. It must be remembered, too, that while St. John writes from a speculative standpoint, as the "*theologian,*" the Synoptics write merely as *biographers.*

IV. Date and Place of Composition.

1. The *date* cannot be determined with perfect accuracy. But

a) It is unanimously admitted that the Gospel was written *after the destruction of Jerusalem,* the fate of Israel being already fulfilled.

b) *Irenaeus* (*Adv. Haer.,* III, 11) says that it is written against the *adversaries of Christ's Divinity:* the Nicolaites and Cerinthus, *i.e.,* ca. 100 A.D. The main purpose of St. John, to throw into relief the divinity of the Lord, agrees with this.

c) The stress laid on the *real and true Logos idea* points to a time when erroneous ideas of the Logos were prevalent, namely, the close of the 1st century.

d) The Gospel cannot be of later date, for there is in it no pronounced opposition to any elaborate Gnostic system, although indirectly anti-Gnostic tendencies can be noted.

Thus the traditional date, the end of the 1st century, is confirmed. Cod. D with the order: Matth., John, Luke, Mark, does not intend to give the chronological sequence.

2. The different *opinions of critics* cover the space between 70–170 A.D.
3. The *place of composition,* according to *Irenaeus,* is Ephesus (Euseb., *H.E.,* V, 8): "Ἰωάννης . . . ἐξέδωκε τὸ εὐαγγέλιον ἐν Ἐφέσῳ τῆς Ἀσίας διατρίβων."

V. Special Problems of the Gospel.

1. The *differences between St. John and the Synoptics,* as above.
2. The *Presbyter-John problem,* as above.
3. The *difference between the Gospel and the Apocalypse.* Cf. Apoc.
4. The *Logos problem.* Cf. FOUARD, the "Word" of St. John in: *The Christ, the Son of God,* I, Appendix. LEBRETON, *Les Théories de Logos au debut de l'Ère Chrétienne,* Paris, 1906.
5. *John* (V, 1) *and the duration of the public ministry* of Christ. Cf. "Life of Christ." FOUARD, the festival of the 5th chapter of St. John in: *The Christ, the Son of God,* I, Appendix.
6. *Chapter XXI* is evidently an addition to the original Gospel, which concluded with XX, 31, called already by Tertullian the "*clausula*" (*Adv. Prax.,* XXV). But it must be of very early origin, since it is contained in all MSS. and goes back to John himself, whose style is reproduced. It is arbitrary to regard it as a form of the "lost

ending" of St. Mark (Loisy) or a transformation of Luke V, 1–11 (Wellhausen), or to declare XXI, 15–23 as merely symbolic (Strauss). Lit. Horn, *Abfassungszeit, Geschichtlichkeit und Zweck von Joh.* XXI., 1904.

7. The time of the celebration of the "*Last Supper,*" which seems to differ from the date given by the Synoptics. Cf. "Life of Christ."

8. *Doubtful are the concluding verses, XXI, 24–25;* but they certainly go back to the earliest times. Belser is for Aristion as author; Haussleiter for Andrew and Philip; Jülicher ascribes them to the "anonymous" author of the Gospel; others to an anonymous scribe distinct from the author of the Gospel.

9. Of special importance is the pericope of the "*woman taken in adultery,*" VII, 53–VIII, 11. Lit.: Van Kasteren, *Revue Biblique,* 1911; Lyski, *De Authentia Loci Ioann.* VII, 53 ff., 1905.
   a) It is *not contained* in the oldest Greek MSS. as ℵ ABCLW, nor in many minuscules;
   b) nor in the Syriac and Coptic versions.
   c) It is missing in some old Latin MSS. as a f e l q.
   d) It is not commented on by any of the Greek Fathers.

e) It is *preserved* in DFGKH, the old Latin MSS. b c e ff², the Vulgate, the Ethiopian version, Syrpal; the famous Ferrar group inserts it after Luke XXI, 38. Jerome, Ambrose, Augustine, the Didascalia, the "Constitutiones Apostolicae," and Eusebius knew it. And Eusebius refers to Papias.

f) The style is less Johannine, resembling that of the Synoptics.

g) Knabenbauer states rightly: *"Tenendum est pericopen pertinere ad scripturam inspiratam. Eam autem ab ipso Joanne esse scriptam non est ullo modo definitum."*

10. *Does John V, 3–4, the moving of the pond,* belong to the original text? Cf. FOUARD, *The Christ, the Son of God,* I, Appendix: "The Pool of Bethesda."

11. Is V, 43 an allusion to the Pseudo-Messias Bar-Kochba (Pfleiderer)?

12. *Are Ch. XV–XVI* a later addition either by the author or a redactor? Cf. LATTEY, *Exp.,* 1906.

13. Is *XIX, 35* a marginal note and later addition? Cf. BACON, *The Fourth Gospel,* etc.

14. Is John influenced by Jewish Alexandrian Philosophy? Cf. SCOTT, *The Fourth Gospel,* etc.

15. *The "beloved disciple."* Cf. SWETE, *The*

Disciple whom Jesus Loved, Journal of Theol. Studies, 1916.

16. The *Last Supper.* Cf. SWETE, *John XIV–XVII, The Last Discourse and Prayer of our Lord,* 1913.
17. The *topography* in St. John. Cf. DRUMMOND, *Character and Authorship of the Fourth Gospel,* 1903.
18. Are the "Sayings" of Christ in St. John only some kind of a Targum? Cf. Encyclical *"Spiritus Paraclitus."*
19. *The term "Light" in St. John.* Cf. WETTER, *Phos. Eine Untersuchung über hellenische Frömnigkeit,* 1915.

VI. **The Decision of the Biblical Commission concerning the Gospel, May 29, 1907, affirms:**

1. Its authenticity from external and internal testimonies.
2. Its historicity; the events of the Gospel are not *"totaliter vel ex parte confictae."*
3. The sayings of the Lord are *"proprie et vere ipsius Domini"* and not *"compositiones theologicae scriptoris."* Cf. also the *Syllabus,* July 3, 1907, where theses 16, 17 and 18 refer to St. John.

CHAPTER VII

THE LIFE OF CHRIST

LITERATURE

LeCamus, *The Life of Christ,* New York, 1905.
Fouard, *The Christ, the Son of God,* London, 1891.
Didon, *Jesus Christ,* Philadelphia, 1897.
Edersheim, *The Life and Times of Jesus Christ,* New York, 1907.
Farrar, *The Life of Christ,* London, 1896.
Grimm, *Das Leben Jesu,* 7 vls., Regensburg, 1890–99.
Briggs, *The Messiah of the Gospels,* New York, 1898.

I. History of the Various Aspects of the Life of Christ.

Literature: Drum's *Summary of Christologies, Ecclesiastical Review,* 1914 f.; A. Schweitzer, *Von Reimarus zu Wrede, Geschichte der Leben-Jesu-Forschung,* Tübingen, 1913; P. Dausch, *Christus in der modernen sozialen Bewegung,* Münster i.W., 1920.

1. The investigation of Christ's Life throughout the early Church and the Middle Ages is dominated by the keynote of Christ's *supernatural character, i.e.,* his divinity.
2. This continuous line of thought was broken for the first time by the *English Deists* (XVIIth century), who opposed this supernatural view of Christ's life.

3. Their first follower on the continent was *Reimarus,* whose famous "fragments" were published by Lessing (1778), the first being concerned with the "toleration of the Deists." The two main features of this system are
   a) the *rationalistic* consideration of the Life of Christ, *i.e.,* the removal of every supernatural aspect;
   b) the *eschatological* theory, *i.e.,* that the Messianic power of Christ, according to His disciples, will be manifested after His *second arrival.*
4. The *older Rationalist school* (Hess, Herder) explains a great number of the miracles of the Gospels *naturally,* but leaves a supernatural residue.
5. The *newer Rationalism* accepts the bulk of the Gospel narratives as historical, but explains the miracles as natural events misinterpreted by the biblical writers. Yet historical criticism against parts of the Gospel is found at work (Paulus, Hase).
6. The *mythological theory of Strauss* explains the miracles as myths. In his first *Leben Jesu* (1835) he defends the eschatology, *i.e.,* the claim of Christ to appear as the "Son of Man" at His second arrival.
7. With the *negative historical criticism of Bruno Bauer* (1840) the historical character of the New Testament writings is definitely aban-

doned. The hypothesis of Mark as the original source for the Life of Christ is held as axiomatic.

8. The *liberalistic picture* of the Life of Christ (Schenkel, Weizsäcker, Holtzmann, B. Weiss, Keim, Renan, Beyschlag, Burton, Matthews, Roberts, Briggs, Fairbairn, etc.) is drawn along the lines of historical criticism of the New Testament sources. It practically eliminates John in favor of the Synoptics, and delineates Christ as the founder of a "liberal" religion without sacrifice, cult, priests, etc., who by a process of inner development finally arrived at the consciousness of his Messianic calling.

9. The *eschatological Christ* may be called the final outgrowth of the liberal school. The activity of Christ as "Son of Man" and bringer of salvation takes place according to the Gospels after his death, at his *second arrival* (*Parousia*), but still in behalf of his own generation. The able leader of this school is J. Weiss, followed by Loisy, Lake, Tyrrell, Burkitt, and especially Wrede and Schweitzer, the latter taking the *eschatological conviction of Christ* Himself as the *punctum saliens* in his whole life, whereas Wrede considers the *resurrection* as the inspiring factor in the eschatology of Mark. Thus the Gospel writers are made the inventors of the eschatological viewpoint.

Apart from these outstanding landmarks in the investigation of Christ's life, a number of *more or less fantastic portraits* of Christ are to be mentioned.

1. The *speculative picture* of Christ.
   Christ and the Incarnation are symbols and allegories of ideas. To Kant, Schelling and Hegel the Incarnation of Christ is ultimately a symbol of man's realization of his being the child of God. To Schopenhauer Christ is the personification of abnegation. To Kirchbach Christ's resurrection symbolizes the ethical exaltation of mankind. Similar ideas are proclaimed by Royce.
2. The *mythological picture* of Christ.
   Invented by Strauss and Bauer, it led to the definite denial of the historicity of Christ. For Smith, Drews, Robertson, Kalthoff, etc., Christ is not an historical person, but an imaginary bearer of ideas. Jensen dissolves Christianity into a congeries of non-Christian myths. Likewise Frazer, in his *Golden Bough.*
3. The *psycho-pathological picture of Christ.*
   For Rasmussen, Loosten, etc., the secret of Christ's success is his mental abnormality.
4. The *pessimistic picture* of Christ.
   With Schopenhauer (partly also with Strauss) etc., Christ's importance lies in his preaching of asceticism. This theory led

to Christian Buddhism: Christ and Buddha are leaders by virtue of their suffering for the attainment of Nirvana.

5. Christ as *antagonistic to civilization.* This theory was the outcome of the pessimistic view of Christ. Christ is presented as an enemy of the family, of nature and the natural virtues, by Haeckel, Hartmann, Nietzsche.

6. The *optimistic picture* of Christ.
   Christ is the affirmation of life and joy (Chamberlain).

7. The *Socialistic picture* of Christ.
   a) Christ is the teacher of a life without science, art, work, civilization (Tolstoi);
   b) He is the apostle of rebellion (Kautzky);
   c) or the representative of the proletariat (Bebel, etc.).

8. The *picture of Christ in literature* varies with various authors, like Renan, Sudermann, Paul Heyse, Ibsen, Björnsen, Frenssen, Rosegger, etc.

II. The Historicity of Christ.

Literature: LINK, *De Antiquissimis Veterum quae ad Jesum Nazarenum spectant Testimoniis,* 1913; CASE, *Is Jesus a Historical Character? Am. Journ. of Theol.,* 1911; BATIFFOL, *Credibility of the Gospel,* 1912.

The denial of the historicity of Christ (Smith, Robertson, Drews, Kalthoff, Jensen, etc.) is shown to be absurd,

a) apart from the *biblical sources,*

b) by the *non-Christian* testimonies of:

α) *Flavius Josephus, Antiqu.,* XVIII, 3, 2: Γίνεται δὲ κατὰ τοῦτον τὸν χρόνον Ἰησοῦς σοφὸς ἀνήρ, [εἴγε ἄνδρα αὐτὸν λέγειν χρή· ἦν γὰρ παραδόξων ἔργων ποιητής], διδάσκαλος ἀνθρώπων τῶν ἡδονῇ τ' ἀληθῆ δεχομένων, καὶ πολλοὺς μὲν Ἰουδαίους, πολλοὺς δὲ καὶ ἀπὸ τοῦ Ἑλληνικοῦ ἐπηγάγετο [ὁ χριστὸς οὗτος ἦν] καὶ αὐτὸν ἐνδείξει τῶν πρώτων ἀνδρῶν παρ' ἡμῖν σταυρῷ ἐπιτετιμηκότος Πιλάτου οὐκ ἐπαύσαντο οἱ τὸ πρῶτον αὐτὸν ἀγαπήσαντες. [ἐφάνη γὰρ αὐτοῖς τρίτην ἔχων ἡμέραν πάλιν ζῶν, τῶν θείων προφητῶν ταῦτά τε καὶ ἄλλα μυρία περὶ αὐτοῦ θαυμάσια εἰρηκότων]. εἰς ἔτι τε νῦν τῶν χριστιανῶν ἀπὸ τοῦδε ὠνομασμένων οὐκ ἐπέλιπε τὸ φῦλον. "At this time appeared Jesus, a wise man [*if it be right to call Him a man, for He worked miracles*]. He was the teacher of men who received the truth with joy, and He drew after Him many Jews and many Hellenes [*He was the Christ*]. On the denunciation of the first men of our nation, Pilate condemned Him to the cross; but those who loved Him from the beginning did not cease (to love Him) [*for He appeared to them risen on the third day, as the divine prophets had foretold concerning Him, as*

also a thousand other marvels about Him]. The sect which receives from Him the name of Christians exists even to this day." (Cf. Batiffol.) Cf. also *Antiq.*, XX, 9, where Josephus speaks of *James, "the brother of Jesus who is called the Christ."*

The square brackets in the text mark the passages which are disputed. Concerning the criticism of the famous passage of Fl. Josephus, cf. Batiffol, *Credibility of the Gospel.* He accepts *only Antiq., XX, 9,* as an authentic text, since the authenticity of *Antiq. XVIII, 3, 2,* can hardly be upheld for the passages in brackets.

β) *Tacitus, Annal., XV, 44: "Ergo abolendo rumori Nero subdidit reos et quaesitissimis poenis affecit quos per flagitia invisos vulgus christianos appellabat. Autor nominis ejus Christus, Tiberio imperante per procuratorem Pontium Pilatum supplicio affectus erat."*

γ) *Suetonius, Vita Claudii, XXV: "Claudius Judaeos impulsore Chresto assidue tumultuantes Roma expulit."*

δ) *Pliny,* in his letter to Emperor Trajan (ed. by Kukula, *Ep.,* XCVI): *". . . summam vel culpae suae vel erroris, quod essent soliti . . . car-*

menque Christo quasi deo dicere secum invicem."

ε) *The Talmud,* although grossly misrepresenting the Gospel tradition, is nevertheless an excellent witness for the historical background of the Gospels, *i.e.,* Christ. Cf. HERFORD, *Christianity in Talmud and Midrash,* 1903.

III. The Chronology of Christ's Life.

1) The Date of Christ's Birth.

Literature: BONACCORSI, *Noel,* 1903; DURAND, *L'Enfance de Jésus Christ d'après les Évangiles,* 1908.

a) According to Matth. II, 1, and Luke I, 5, Christ was born during the *reign of Herod the Great.* Herod died in March, 750 A.U.C., that is, 4 B.C. (cf. Josephus, *Ant.,* XIV, XVII). Several events took place between Christ's birth and Herod's death (adoration of the Magi, flight to Egypt, massacre of the Holy Innocents); *Christ's birth,* therefore, has to be dated about one or two years before 750 A.U.C. = 748–749 = *6–5 B.C.*

To determine the date of Christ's birth by means of astronomy (like KEPLER, *De Jesu Christi Salvatoris Nostri Vero Anno Natalitio,* 1606) is hardly possible.

The *day of Christ's birth* is unknown. The Eastern Church celebrates the 6th of January, the Western Church the 25th of December, as the day of the Lord's nativity. Cf. VAN ELTEN, *Vita Abscondita D.N.J. Chr., Chronologica,* 1907; CABROL, *Dictionnaire d'Archéologie,* etc.

b) The *enrollment of Cyrinus,* mentioned by Luke II, 2, in connection with Christ's birth, is rendered probable by Tacitus, *Annal.,* III, 48, who confirms that Cyrinus was proconsul of Syria at this period. But we have no other direct testimony. Luke cannot refer to the enrollment of 6–7 A.D. under the second governorship of Cyrinus (cf. Josephus, *Antiq.,* XVII, 13). Besides we know from *Egyptian papyri* that such enrollments took place in Egypt in the first century A.D. Cf. BARTON, *Archaeology and the Bible,* 1916, ch. XXVI.

Literature: LAGRANGE, *Revue Biblique,* 1911; A. MAYER, *Die Schätzung bei Christi Geburt in ihrer Beziehung zu Quirinius,* 1908.

2) **The Beginning of Christ's Public Life.**

a) According to Luke III, 1, St. John's activity at the Jordan began in the *15th year of Tiberius,* which probably

coincides with the date of his association with Augustus, *i.e.,* 12 A.D.= 765 A.U.C. (Cf. Josephus, *Antiqu.,* XV, 6, 6). The 15th year is therefore 779 A.U.C. = 26 A.D.

b) According to Luke III, 23, Jesus was about *30 years old* on starting his public life, which agrees approximately with the date above: 26 + 5 = 31, *i.e.,* ὡσεὶ ἐτῶν τριάκοντα.

c) This is confirmed by John II, 20, *viz:* that at the first Pasch in Christ's life *46 years* had elapsed *since the beginning of the rebuilding of the temple* = 20–19 B.C. (733–34 A.U.C.), which points to 779–80 A.U.C.= 26–27 A.D. (Cf. Josephus, *Antiqu.* XV, 10.)

3) The Duration of Christ's Public Activity.

Literature: Fendt, *Die Dauer der öffentlichen Wirksamkeit Jesu,* 1906; Mommert, *Zur Chronologie des Lebens Jesu,* 1909; Pfättisch, *Die Dauer der Lehrtätigkeit Jesu,* 1911.

a) This *question* was recently an object of *hot discussion:* Belser, Cladder, van Bebber assume *one year,* as had been done already by the Gnostics with reference to the famous year of blessings, Is. LXI, 2 (Iren., *Haer.,* II, 22), whereas Prat and Pfättisch *favor two years,* while Cornely,

Knabenbauer, Nisius, Homanner, insist on *three years.*

b) The *evidence.*

α) *External evidence.*

Tertullian, Adv. Jud., VIII, asserts that Christ died in the year of the Consuls Rubellius Geminus and Fufius Geminus, *i.e.,* 30 A.D. This in connection with the dates above would indicate a three years' activity.

Irenaeus, Haer., II, 22, also speaks of three Paschs during the public life of Christ.

Origen, Comm. in Ioann., XIII, 39, speaks likewise of three Paschs.

Eusebius, H.E., III, 24, 7, testifies clearly to a three years' activity.

As a rule the Fathers agree upon 33 years as the age of Christ at the time of His death. Only a few differ from this opinion (*e.g.* Irenaeus, *Haer.,* II, 22).

β) The *internal evidence* seems to differ in *St. John* and the *Synoptics.*

Saint John supposes *four*

Paschs and therefore a *three years' activity.*

II, 13: ἐγγὺς ἦν τὸ πάσχα τῶν Ἰουδαίων—*prope erat pascha Judaeorum.*

V, 1: ἦν ἑορτὴ τῶν Ἰουδαίων—*erat dies festus Judaeorum.*

VI, 4: ἦν δὲ ἐγγὺς τὸ πάσχα ἡ ἑορτὴ τῶν Ἰουδαίων — *erat autem proximum pascha, dies festus Jud.*

Comparison with V, 1, shows that the ἑορτή *simpliciter* can only be the Pasch.

XI, 55: ἦν δὲ ἐγγὺς τὸ πάσχα τῶν Ἰουδαίων — *proximum erat pascha Judaeorum.*

This last one is the Pasch of Christ's death. The authenticity of these passages once recognized, the activity of three years cannot be gainsaid.

Belser without any documentary authority discards VI, 4 (based on W. Hort's suspicion) and without sufficient reason, V, 1.

Pfättisch rejects the Pasch of V, 1. Cf. "Problems" of St. John.

The *cardinal point is John VI, 4,* which cannot be removed by any sound argumentation, as it is attested by all MSS. Hence in spite of all voices to the contrary, St. John testifies to four Paschs and therefore a three years' activity.

Although the *Synoptics* are not clear on the point, they testify to facts of different periods, which seem to point to three *Paschs:*

The *plucking of the ears of corn,* Mark II, 23; Luke VI, 1, pointing to a time not far from the Pasch, marks *one* Pasch, *i.e.,* the second, as we shall see at once.

The multiplication of loaves with the remark: "make them all sit down . . . on the *green grass,*" Mark VI, 39, indicates springtime and marks another Pasch. Besides the multiplication of the loaves, re-

ported by all three Synoptics (Matt. XIV, 13-22, Mark VI, 31-44; Luke IX, 10-17) is by St. John connected with the third Pasch. The *first* Pasch, John II, 13, is not mentioned directly by the Synoptics. Hence the Synoptic events up to the multiplication of the loaves took place before the third Pasch.

The last Pasch of the Lord is described by all the Synoptics.

(The parable of the *barren fig-tree,* Luke XIII, 7: "For three years I come seeking fruit on this tree," is by some supposed to suggest a three years' activity of Christ).

Thus the proof against the three years' public activity of Christ is still to be furnished.

4) **The Year of Christ's Death**

a) According to Luke XXIII, 24, John XVIII, 29, Christ died under the Roman procurator *Pontius Pilate,* who held office 26–36 A.D. (Josephus

Antiqu., XVIII, 4; Tacitus, *Annal.*, XV, 44).

b) According to Tertullian, *Adv. Jud.*, VIII, the Lord died at the time of the *two Consuls Rubellius and Fufius Geminus, i.e., 30 A.D.*

c) If these dates are placed together with the beginning of Christ's public life (26 A.D.) and with its probable duration of three years, we have to accept the dating of Tertullian as approximately correct, *i.e., ca. 30* A.D. as the *year of Christ's death.*

5) The Day of Christ's Last Supper and Death.

Literature: Schneid, *Der Monatstag des Abendmahls und Todestags unseres Herrn Jesus Christus*, 1905; Chwolsen, *Das letzte Passamahl Christi und der Tag seines Todes*, 1892.

a) The *week-days* for these events can be determined with absolute certainty by means of the unanimous statements of the four Gospels.

Mark XV, 42 speaks of the evening of the day of crucifixion: "*Et cum iam sero factum esset, quia erat parasceve, quod est ante sabbatum,*" hence of *Friday evening.*

Matth. XXVII, 62, speaks of the day after the crucifixion: "*Altera autem die, quae est post parasceven.*"

Luke XXIII, 54: the day of cruci-

fixion is Friday: "*et dies erat parasceves, et sabbatum illucescebat.*"

John XIX, 14: the day of the condemnation of Christ is Friday: "*Erat autem parasceve Paschae*" (*i.e.*, προσάββατον, Mark XV, 42).

John XIX, 31: the same day is the day of crucifixion: "*Judaei ergo, quoniam parasceve erat, ut non remanerent in cruce corpora sabbato, rogaverunt Pilatum.*"

According to the unanimous statements of the four Gospels the Last Supper took place the day before the crucifixion, hence on Thursday.

The order of events is therefore:

Thursday: Last Supper

Friday: Crucifixion

Sunday: Resurrection (Matth. XXVIII, 1 ff; Mark XVI, 1 ff; Luke XXIV, 1 ff; John XX, 1 ff).

b) Concerning the *day of the month* the Gospel writers seem to disagree.

α) In the *Synoptics the Thursday* of the Last Supper seems to be the 14th of Nisan.

Matth. XXVI, 17: "*Prima autem die azymorum accesserunt discipuli ad Jesum dicentes: Ubi vis paremus tibi comedere Pascha?*"

Mark XIV, 12: "*Et primo die azymorum quando Pascha immolabant, dicunt ei discipuli: Quo vis . . . paremus . . . Pascha?*"

Luke XXII, 7: "*Venit autem dies azymorum, in qua necesse erat occidi Pascha.*"

Hence the Thursday of the Last Supper was the very day when the paschal lamb was killed, *i.e.,* the 14th of Nisan. The next day was the "*dies solemnis*": the Paschal feast of the 15th of Nisan, on which the Roman governor used to give freedom to a prisoner. (Cf. Matth. XXVII, 15; Mark XV, 6; Luke XXIII, 17; John XVIII, 39.)

β) According to *St. John,* Jesus celebrated the last Supper on Thursday, but the Jews did not eat the Paschal lamb until the following day, Friday, the day of the crucifixion. From this it may be inferred that Friday fell on the 14th of Nisan and that Christ celebrated the Pasch one day before the Jews, *i.e.,* the 13th of Nisan.

John XVIII, 28: "*Et ipsi non introierunt in praetorium, ut non contaminarentur sed ut manducarent Pascha.*" John calls this very day the "*Parasceve Paschae,*" XIX, 14, which in Mark XV, 42, is "*ante Sabbatum.*" But at the same time he says, regarding the Paschal meal of Christ and His disciples, that it took place "*ante diem festum Paschae*" (before the 15th of Nisan).

John XIII, 1: "*Ante diem festum Paschae . . . coena facta.*"

John XIII, 29: "*Eme ea, quae opus sunt nobis ad diem festum.*"

γ) To the *rationalistic interpretation* the texts are contradictory and irreconcilable. The fault, it is maintained, lies with St. John, who would have Christ, the *mystical* "*Paschal lamb,*" die when the real Paschal lamb was killed.

δ) *A reconciliation* is attempted by

1) the *anticipation theory,* maintaining that, according to John, Christ ate the Pasch

a day earlier than the Jews, *i.e.*, on the 13th of Nisan.

2) the *translation theory,* maintaining that the Jews transferred the eating of the Pasch to the 15th of Nisan, whereas Jesus celebrated it correctly on the 14th of Nisan.

3) The *theory of Chwolsen,* who ingeniously argues: Whenever the 14th of Nisan fell on a Friday, the killing of the Paschal lamb took place on Thursday, the 13th of Nisan, as it was not allowed on the eve of the Sabbath. The Paschal meal could be taken on the 13th or 14th of Nisan. Jesus took it on the 13th, the Jews on the 14th of Nisan.

This is the only solution which

a) reconciles in a satisfactory way the Synoptics and St. John; and

b) does justice to the fact that Friday cannot be the solemn Paschal feast of the 15th of Nisan, as the Jews

would not have performed the crucifixion on that day.

But, unless the 14th of Nisan is accepted as that day, the difficulty remains that according to all Gospel writers the crucifixion took place on the "*dies solemnis*" (ἑορτή) when the Roman governor gave freedom to a prisoner; or κατά and ἐν (= *on*) do not indicate *this day* strictly.

IV. Concise Outline of the Historical Life of Jesus.

Literature: DAUSCH, *Das Leben Jesu, Grundriss,* 1911; CHAUME, *Recherches sur la Chronologie de la Vie du Notre Seigneur, Revue Bibl.,* 1918.

1. *Christ's Birth and Hidden Life* (5 B.C.–26 A.D.), Luke I, 26–II, 52, and parallels.

Annunciation; visitation; birth of Jesus; (Genealogies of Christ); presentation in the temple; the Magi; the flight into Egypt; massacre of the Holy Innocents; childhood of Christ; His hidden life.

2. *Christ's Public Life* (Fall 26 A.D.–Easter, 30 A.D.)

a. The *preparation* (Fall 26 A.D.–Spring, 27 A.D.), Matth. III–IV, 12, and parallels; John I, 19–IV.

The forerunner; Christ's baptism and temptation; the testimony of John; the first disciples; the wedding at Cana; journey to Jerusalem to the **I Pasch** (John II, 13).

The traders in the temple; Nicode-

mus; the last testimony of John; the Samaritan woman; the officer's son.

b. The *Galilean preaching* of the kingdom of God (Summer, 27–Fall, 28 A.D.), Matth. IV, 13–XIV, and parallels.

Jesus in Nazareth; Jesus at Capharnaum; the call of the disciples; Christ in Simon's house; the paralytic; the call of Matthew; the journey to Jerusalem to the **II Pasch** (John V, 1); return to Galilee; the question about the Sabbath; the plucking of the ears of corn.

The sermon on the Mount; miracles; parables; Jesus at Nazareth; mission of the Apostles; the death of John the Baptist.

c. The *turning-point in Galilee* (Spring, 29 A.D. to Fall, 29 A.D.), Matth. XV–XVII, and parallels; John VI ff.

Jesus on the hills of Bethsaida; the multiplication of the loaves ("green grass"); the promise of the Eucharist.

The **III Pasch is near** (John VI, 4). Jesus does not go to Jerusalem. The collision with the Scribes and Pharisees; the journey to Phenicia, Decapolis; at Cesarea Philippi; the transfiguration; the last words in Capharnaum; the growing hatred; the

prophecy of Christ's suffering.

d. The *period of decision* (Fall 29 A.D. to Pasch 30 A.D.), John VII–XII; Matth. XVII ff.

The journey to Jerusalem on the feast of the Tabernacles; the teaching in the temple; the *pericope adulterae;* healing of the man born blind; Jesus for the last time in Galilee (Matth. XVII ff.); the feast of the Dedication; the raising of Lazarus.

From Ephrem to Bethany; the solemn entrance into Jerusalem for the **IV Pasch.**

3. The *Last Supper, Passion* and *Crucifixion,* John XIII ff., Matth. XXVI, ff.
4. The *Resurrection,* Matth. XXVIII and parallels.
5. The *Ascension,* Mark XVI, 9 ff., and Luke XXIV, 50 ff.

V. **Selected Problems of the Life of Christ.**

1. The *"Magnificat"* and its author
   Cf. Problems of St. Luke's Gospel.
2. The *Virgin birth.*
   Cf. Problems of St. Matthew's Gospel.
3. The *Childhood of Christ.*
   Cf. VAN ELTEN, *Vita Abscondita D.N.J. Ch. Chronologice,* 1901; DURAND, *The Childhood of Jesus Christ,* 1907.
4. The *"Son of God."*

The old Jewish epithet of originally moral significance is filled by Christ with metaphysical content. Cf. LEPIN, *Jésus, Messie et fils de Dieu,* 1907.

5. The *"Son of Man."*

The title, derived from Dan. VII, 13, leads to Christ's metaphysical Sonship of God. Cf. TILLMANN, *Der Menschensohn,* 1907; BATIFFOL, *L'Enseignement de Jésus,* 1910.

6. The *Kingdom of God.*

Cf. BATIFFOL, *L'Enseignement de Jésus,* 1910; MANSON, *Christ's View of the Kingdom of God,* 1918.

7. The *Eschatology.*

Cf. BATIFFOL, *op. cit.*

8. The *Messianic consciousness* of Christ.

Cf. LEPIN, *Jésus, Messie et fils de Dieu,* 1907.

9. The *Logos.*

Cf. LEBRETON, *Les Théories du Logos au debut de l'ère Chrétienne,* 1906.

10. The *genealogies.*

Cf. Problems of St. Matthew's Gospel.

11. The *Resurrection* of Christ.

Cf. THORBURN, *The Resurrection Narratives and Modern Criticism,* 1910; JACQUIER et BOURCHANY, *La Résurrection de Jésus Christ,* 1911.

12. The *descensus ad inferos.*

Cf. SCHMIDT, *Der Descensus ad inferos in der alten Kirche,* 1919.

13. The *Star of Bethlehem.*
    Cf. FOUARD, *The Christ, the Son of God,* I, Appendix; NOTZ, *The Star of Bethlehem and the Magi, Bibliotheca Sacra,* 1916; TINDALL, *The Star of Bethlehem, Exp. T.,* 1913.
14. The *"brethren of the Lord."*
    Cf. Problems of St. James' Epistle; FOUARD, *The Christ, the Son of God,* I, Appendix; DURAND, *The Childhood of Jesus Christ.*
15. The *Temptation* of the Lord.
    Cf. LE CAMUS, *Life of Christ;* KETTER, *Die Versuchung Jesu,* 1917.
16. The *Transfiguration.*
    Cf. LE CAMUS, *op. cit.;* KENNEDY, *The Purpose of the Transfiguration, Journal of Theol. Stud.,* 1903.
17. The *census Cyrini.*
    Cf. Chronology of Christ's Life, above.
18. The *bloody sweat.*
    Cf. Problems of St. Luke's Gospel.
19. The *primacy of St. Peter.*
    Cf. Problems of St. Matthew's Gospel.
20. The *Miracles* of Christ.
    Cf. FONCK, *Die Wunder des Herrn im Evangelium,* 1907.
21. The *Parables* of Christ.
    Cf. FONCK, *The Parables of the Gospel,* 1915; HUNKIN, *The Synoptic Parables, Journal of Theol. Studies,* 1915.

22. *The chronology of the Passion.*
    Cf. FOUARD, *op. cit.*, II, Appendix.
23. Was the *Last Supper* of the Lord a *Paschal* meal?
    Cf. BURKITT, *The Last Supper and the Paschal Meal, Journal of Theol. Studies,* 1916.
24. *The prosecution of Christ.*
    Cf. HUSBAND, *The Prosecution of Jesus, Its Date, History, and Legality,* 1916.
25. *The Agrapha of Christ.*
    Cf. JACQUIER, *Les sentences de Seigneur extracanoniques, Revue Bibl.,* 1918.
    Cf. WHITE, *The Sayings of Jesus,* 1920.
26. *The Eschatological Teaching of Christ.*
    Cf. WINSTANLEY, *Jesus and the Future, etc.,* 1913; JACKSON, *The Eschatology of Jesus,* 1913.
27. *The Lord's Prayer.*
    Cf. FREY, *RB.,* 1914; HENSLER, *Das Vaterunser,* 1913.

CHAPTER VIII

THE ACTS OF THE APOSTLES

LITERATURE

Cf. *General literature to the N. T.*

Pirot, *Les Actes des Apôtres et la Commission Biblique,* Paris, 1919.

Camerlynck, *Commentarius in Actus Apostolorum,* Brugis, 1910.

Harnack, *Luke the Physician,* London, 1908.

Harnack, *Die Apostelgeschichte,* Leipzig, 1908.

Chase, F. H., *The Credibility of the Book of the Acts of the Apostles,* Cambridge, 1912.

Clemen, *Die Apostelgeschichte im Lichte der neueren Forschungen,* Giessen, 1905.

Hobart, *The Medical Language of St. Luke,* Dublin, 1884.

Knowling, *The Testimony of St. Paul to Christ,* London, 1905.

Steinmann, *Die Apostelgeschichte übersetzt und erklärt,* Berlin, 1913.

I. Contents.

1. *The activity and history of St. Peter* — The Church in Jerusalem, Palestine and Syria, I–XII.
   a. The foundation of the Church, I–III.
   b. The Jewish attitude towards the Christians, IV–VIII.
   c. The first development of the pagan-

Christian Church, IX–XI, with two outstanding features:

α) The reception of the first pagan, Cornelius, X.

β) The foundation of the first pagan-Christian community in Antioch, XI.

d. The persecution by Agrippa, XII.

2. *The activity and history of St. Paul* — The Church amongst the pagans, XIII–XXVIII.

a. The great missionary journeys of St. Paul, XIII–XXI, with the Council of Jerusalem, XV, as central point.

b. Paul's imprisonment in Cesarea, XXI–XXVI.

c. His transportation to Rome and captivity there, XXVII–XXVIII.

II. The Author of the Acts.

1. According to *tradition,* the author is Luke, whose personality is known from the Gospel.

a. The *Muratorian Canon says: "Acta autem omnium Apostolorum sub uno libro scripta sunt. Lucas optimo Theophilo comprehendit, quia sub praesentia eius singula gerebantur."* The last remark, that the events of the Acts happened at Luke's time and "in his presence" is important for the date.

b. It is known to *Polycarp,* I, 2, and *Tatian, Orat. ad Graec.,* IV. The rest of the patristic witnesses are *unanimous.* (Tertullian, Irenaeus, Clement of Alexandria, Origen, etc.)

2. *Internal evidence:*

a. In Acts XXVII, 2, which belongs to the so-called "We" sections (XVI, 10–17; XX, 5–15; XXI, 1–18; XXVII, 1–XXVIII, 16) *Aristarchus* is mentioned as the companion of the author of these sections.

Col. IV, 14, and Philem. 24, this companion of Aristarchus is called Luke. Hence *Luke* is evidently the author of the "We" sections.

b. But these sections are *similar* in style and vocabulary to the rest of the Acts and to the 3d Gospel. Consequently Luke is the author of the Acts as well as of the Gospel. The medical terminology points here, as in the third Gospel, to Luke the physician.

Luke's historical trustworthiness and his accuracy in geographical and political data are admitted. Cf. Ramsay, *The Church in the Roman Empire,* 1904.

Lit.: Hobart, *The Medical Language of St. Luke,* 1905.

III. **The Sources of Luke.**

1. His *own experience,* represented in the "We" sections (cf. XXVII, 1–XXVIII, 16). It has been maintained that the "We" journal, used by Luke, was originally a larger document, from which Luke made an extract (cf. HAWKINS, *Horae Synopticae,* 1899).
2. The reminiscences of *eye-witnesses:*
   a. St. *Paul* himself from XII, 18, to the end; and also in IX, 1–30; XI, 19–30.
   b. St. *Peter* and St. *Mark,* whom Luke probably met in Rome; also *Philip,* with whom he lived for a while (XXI, 8 ff.).
3. *Public documents,* as is evident from the letters XXIII, 25–30; XV, 23–29.
4. It *cannot be ascertained* whether the *Pauline Epistles* were used.
5. The *critical theories* about the written sources of the Acts are manifold:
   a. some holding the "*one-source*" theory (Briggs, etc.);
   b. others the "*two-source*" theory (Spitta, etc.);
   c. others again a "*three-source*" theory (Hilgenfeld, etc.). The sources are supposed to be worked up by a final redactor, be it Luke or an anonymous author.

d. According to *Torrey,* the first fifteen chapters are a translation from an Aramaic document, whereas the rest is based on Luke's own experience.

Lit.: GARDNER, *Cambridge Biblical Essays,* 1909; TH. C. TORREY, *The Composition and Date of the Acts,* 1916.

IV. The Purpose.

1. The Acts are, like the 3d Gospel, the πρῶτος λόγος, addressed directly to *Theophilus,* but indirectly to the same community of readers as the Gospel, *i.e.,* to the *Romans,* since Roman places (XXVIII, 15) are supposed to be well known.
2. They purport to describe the *historical development* of the preaching of the Gospel, esp. its *universal scope.* Therefore *Paul,* the Apostle of the Gentiles, is placed in the center of interest.
3. Such being the trend of the Acts, they are not exhaustive and omit many details, *e.g.,* the history of the other Apostles.
4. The abrupt termination of the Acts with the arrival of St. Paul in Rome does not prove that Luke intended to write another volume. (Ramsay, Burkitt, etc.) The reason may be found in the fact that Rome was the important terminus of Paul's activity.

V. **Date and Place of Composition.**

1. *Date.*

a. The Acts were certainly written *before 70 A.D.;* Jerusalem and the Temple are mentioned as still in existence; but

b. *after the first captivity in Rome, i.e.,* about 63 A.D., for the narrative concludes with this fact, XXVIII, 30. This view is accepted by conservative scholars, *e.g.,* Salmon, Godet, Belser, etc. According to the majority of liberal critics, especially those who make Luke's Gospel depend on Josephus, the Acts cannot have been written before 100 A.D.

2. *Place.*

We have no definite information about it. But probably the Acts were written at Rome, where Luke was living at the time.

VI. **Special Problems of the Acts.**

1. The theory of the Tübingen School, that the Acts are an attempt to *reconcile "Petrinism" and "Paulinism,"* is arbitrary.

2. *Acts XV and Gal. II, 1 ff.,* concerning the Council of Jerusalem, are not contradictory.

Lit.: SANDAY, *The Apostolic Decree,* 1908.

3. An especially interesting problem is the *"Western Text"* of the Acts.

Besides the usual text of the Acts there exists another, different in many points; it is preserved;

a. esp. in Cod. D and some minuscules;

b. in some old Latin MSS.;

c. in the Sahidic and Syriac versions;

d. by Irenaeus and Cyprian.

F. Blass developed the theory that Luke is the author of two editions:

1) The "*editio Romana*" = β text, preserved esp. in D.

2) The "*editio Antiochena*" = α text for Theophilus, as in ℵ B, *i.e.*, our present text.

The theory is accepted by many, *e.g.*, Zahn, Nestle, Belser, etc. But the variants of the "Western text" are of secondary character (cf. XV, 20, 29), and can hardly be considered the original (Harris, Ramsay, Jacquier, Chase, etc.). Cf. Harris, *Codex Bezae,* Cambridge, 1891, and *Four Lectures on the Western Text,* 1894.

4. *The Western text of the decree of the Apostles, Acts XV, 29,* omitting πνικτῶν and adding *substantial textual material* (contained in Cod. D.; cf. Irenaeus, *Haer.,* III, 12, 14; Tertullian, *De Pudic.,* XII; Cyprian, *Testim.,* III, 1, 119) is of secondary character.

Cf. Coppieters, *Revue Biblique,* 1907.

5. *The visit of St. Paul in Jerusalem, Acts XI,*

30–XII, 25, is omitted in Gal. I, 17–II, 10, probably because it was irrelevant for Paul's argument in Gal.

Lit.: LIGHTFOOT, *Galatians.*

6. *The omission of the decree of the Council of Jerusalem* in the Pauline Epistles is no argument against the historicity of the decree.

VII. The Decision of the Biblical Commission concerning the Acts, June 12, 1913.

1. The authenticity and historicity of the Acts must be maintained.
2. The Lucan authorship of the Acts is confirmed by the "We" sections.
3. The date of composition is the end of the Roman captivity.

CHAPTER IX

THE PAULINE CHRONOLOGY

LITERATURE

Le Camus, *L'Oeuvre des Apôtres,* Paris, 1905.

Ramsay, *St. Paul the Traveller and the Roman Citizen,* London.

Ramsay, *The Cities of St. Paul,* London, 1907.

Moffatt, *Paul and Paulinism,* London, 1910.

Harnack, *Mission und Ausbreitung des Christentums,* 1906 (also English translation).

Hoenicke, *Die Chronologie des Lebens des Apostels Paulus,* 1903.

Clemen, *Paulus, sein Leben und Wirken,* Giessen, 1904.

J. Smith, *The Voyage and Shipwreck of St. Paul,* London, 1880.

Maps for the Pauline Journeys:

Hagen, *Atlas Biblicus,* Paris, 1907.

Guthe, *Bibelatlas,* Leipzig, 1911.

I. Saint Paul before his Conversion.

1. St. Paul was *born* (ab. 3 A.D.) in a Jewish-Pharisaic family of the tribe of Benjamin (Acts XXIII, 6).
2. His birthplace is in the Diaspora, *viz.:* Tarsus, Cilicia (Acts IX, 11), at that time a literary center of the Hellenic world. (Jerome, *De Vir. Ill.,* 5, erroneously conjectures Giscala in Galilee to be Paul's birth-place.)

3. He possessed the Roman citizenship, a fact that became important in his later career (Acts XXV, 10–11).
4. It is certain that Paul, besides his excellent Jewish education under Gamaliel in Jerusalem (Acts XXVI, 4) and in the Aramaic tongue (Acts XXII, 2) was quite familiar with the Greek language and the Hellenic world of thought. Cf. DEISSMANN, *Paulus,* Tübingen, 1911.
5. The facts of his Jewish nationality and his Roman citizenship are the simplest explanation of his double name SAUL (Greek Saulos) and PAUL (Latin Paulus). He did not receive the name "Paulus" at his conversion.
6. Following the custom of his time he learned a trade, that of tentmaker (Acts XVIII, 3).
7. According to I Cor. VII, 7, he was unmarried.
8. As to his external appearance nothing certain can be deduced from passages like Acts XIV, 11–12; II Cor. X, 10.
9. The problem concerning the "*stimulus carnis*" and the "*angelus satanae*" (II Cor. XII, 7), as referring to a special bodily or mental affliction of St. Paul, is still unsolved. Among the different opinions (sensual temptation, persecution, headache, defect of the tongue, weakness of sight, nervousness, malaria, epilepsy), the epilepsy-theory is espe-

cially favored by the so-called modern critics. It may be taken for granted that the ailment in question was a bodily infirmity.

10. In the Acts St. Paul is mentioned for the first time in connection with the stoning of Stephen (VII, 58 ff.).

11. From this moment on he appears as a violent persecutor of the Christians (Acts VIII, 3).

II. St. Paul's Conversion.

1. On his way to persecute the Christians in Damascus he had an apparition of the Lord and was converted to Christ (Acts IX, XXII, XXVI). The attempts to make the three reports of this fact contradict one another or to deny the supernatural and miraculous character of the event, are failures. Literature: Moske, *Die Bekehrung des hl. Paulus,* Münster, 1907.

2. After preaching a short time in Damascus (Acts IX, 19) he went to Arabia for three years, whence he returned to Damascus (Gal. I, 17–18), which is in agreement with Acts IX, 23, the ἡμέραι ἱκαναί that passed before St. Paul's flight from Damascus after his return from Arabia.

3. The sojourn in Arabia must be regarded as a period of immediate revelations to Paul by Christ (cf. Acts XXVI, 16, and Gal. I, 12).

4. On the strength of these revelations, not on any human authority, Paul bases his commission to preach (Gal. I, 12).
5. The **date** *of St. Paul's conversion* can be determined approximately:
   a) At the time of St. Paul's flight from Damascus after his three years' stay in Arabia, Aretas IV was Lord of that town (II Cor. XI, 32–33; Acts IX, 24–25).
   b) Aretas IV received this dignity probably from the Emperor Caligula (37–41), for there are no coins of that time of Damascus with the imperial image, as had been usual under Tiberius and later under Nero.
   c) The *terminus a quo* for the conversion is therefore 34–35 (Cornely, 34; Zahn, 35; Ramsay, 32; Lightfoot, 34; Harnack, 30).

III. The Missionary Work of St. Paul.

A. First Journey to Jerusalem.

1. From Damascus Paul fled to Jerusalem (37–38), where he was introduced by Barnabas to Peter and James, "the brother of the Lord" (Acts IX, 27; Gal. I, 17–19).
2. After fifteen days he was compelled to leave Jerusalem because of the Jewish

intrigues against him (Acts XXII, 18 ff.).

3. He went to Syria and Tarsus, his home town (Acts IX, 30; Gal. I, 21).

4. From there he followed the call of Barnabas to Antiochia, where he preached for one year with great success (Acts XI, 25–26).

B. **Second Journey to Jerusalem.**

1. Because of a famine, towards the end of the regime of Agrippa I (44), a collection was taken up in Antioch for the brethren in Jerusalem. Paul and Barnabas delivered the proceeds (44–45), and returned to Antioch with Mark, the nephew of Barnabas (Acts XI, 30; XII, 25).

2. Ordained by the "imposition of hands" (Acts XIII, 3), Paul and Barnabas started out with Mark for the

C. **First Missionary Journey (45-48).**

1. They went to Cyprus, the home country of Barnabas (in Paphos occurred the conversion of the Roman proconsul Sergius Paulus); from there to Perge in Pamphylia (here Mark left them, returning to Jerusalem), to Antiochia in Pisidia, Iconium, Lystra, Derbe, and returned by the same route to Antiochia (Acts XIII–XIV).

2. Here Jewish propagandists from Jerusalem (probably Pharisees) disturbed the community, postulating the circumcision as the essential condition of salvation (Acts XV, 1).
3. Therefore it was decided to send a delegation to Jerusalem consisting of Paul, Barnabas, and several others (Acts XV, 2).
4. Here the **Council of the Apostles** decided in Paul's favor (Acts XV, 22; Gal. II, 1ff.), namely, that circumcision was not required for the Gentiles.

D. **The Date of the Council (48–49).**

From Gal. II, 1, where St. Paul declares that he came to Jerusalem (to the Council) after 14 years, which refers to his conversion (34–35), we arrive at 48–49. After his return to Antioch, Paul with Silas set out on the

E. **Second Missionary Journey (49-52)**

1. The time of this journey can now be determined by means of the lately discovered *inscription of Delphi,* the *"Gallio inscription."*
   a) In a letter of Emperor Claudius to Delphi the name of Gallio is mentioned.
   b) This is the same Roman proconsul before whom Paul was accused

by the Jews in Corinth on his second missionary trip (Acts XVIII, 12).

c) The date of Gallio's proconsulate is most probably summer, 51–52 (*Deissmann*).

d) In all likelihood Paul appeared before Gallio in autumn, 51. But he had already been in Corinth, arriving there about spring 51. Hence his second journey must have started ab. 49. Cf. below.

Lit.: ARMSTRONG, *Princeton Theol. Review,* 1911; DEISSMANN, *First "Beilage" to Paulus.*

2. The journey led to Syria, Cilicia, Derbe, Lystra (here Timothy joined them), Iconium, Phrygia, Galatia (here he was detained by illness — Gal. IV. 13), Mysia, Troas (here Luke joined them), Neapolis, Philippi (here Jewish intrigues brought Paul into prison) and Thessalonika. Here also the Jewish persecution continued. Paul left with Silas for Beroea; still harassed by his enemies he alone left for Athens, Silas and Timothy remaining in Beroea.

3. The famous speech on the **Areopagus** (Acts XVII) in Athens was lately in-

vestigated by Norden in his well known book, *Agnostos Theos,* Leipzig, 1913, which provoked a remarkable literature on the question.

Literature: HARNACK, *T. U.,* XXXIX, 1.

4. From Athens Paul went to Corinth, where he was accused before, but acquitted by *Gallio* (Acts XVIII). Here Silas and Timothy rejoined him (having previously spent a short time with him in Athens), bringing news from Macedonia, especially Thessalonika.
5. This occasioned **I Thess.** (about 51, at the beginning of his stay at Corinth) (Acts XVIII, 5), which was followed soon afterwards by **II Thess.** (about the end of 51).
6. After a stay of one year and a half in Corinth, Paul travelled from Kenchreai to Ephesus (accompanied by Aquila and Priscilla — Acts XVIII), and thence to Cesarea, Jerusalem, and finally Antiochia. After a short sojourn in Antiochia Paul proceeded on his

F. **Third Missionary Journey (53-58).**

1. Passing through Phrygia and the "country of Galatia," he went to Ephesus, where he remained two years

(Acts XVIII, 23 f. and XIX, 10), ab. 54–56.

A "*dramatic chapter of the Apostle's life*" (Sabatier) now begins.

a) Soon after his arrival he writes **Gal. (about 54).**

b) At about the same time he sends *a letter to the Corinthians, which is lost,* but mentioned in I Cor. V, 9.

c) The Corinthians send various messages (I Cor. I, 11; VII, 1; XVI, 17).

d) Thereupon Paul writes another letter, our **I Cor. (about 56).**

e) Preceding this letter Timothy was sent to Corinth (I Cor. IV, 17). His report must have been discouraging, therefore Paul personally *hastens to Corinth,* as proved by

α) II Cor. II, 2, τὸ μὴ πάλιν ἐν λύπῃ πρὸς ὑμᾶς ἐλθεῖν, which cannot be applied to the first visit on the second missionary journey;

β) II Cor. XIII, 1, τρίτον τοῦτο ἔρχομαι πρὸς ὑμᾶς.

f) After his own visit Paul again sent Titus with a third letter to the Corinthians, also lost, with

the understanding to meet Paul in Troas (II Cor. XII, 18).

g) An insurrection, caused by the silversmith Demetrius, forced Paul to leave Ephesus earlier than had been arranged with Titus (Acts XIX, 23). Therefore he met Titus in Macedonia, and not as he had expected (II Cor. II, 12), in Troas.

h) He received Titus' report and wrote a fourth letter to the Corinthians, our **II Cor. (about 57).**

i) From here St. Paul went, probably via Illyria, which is mentioned in Rom. XV, 19, again to Corinth and stayed there three months (Acts XX, 1 ff.).

2. From this place he wrote his great letter to the **Romans (about 58)**

3. Soon afterwards he left for Macedonia, where he spent Easter (58) in Philippi, stopped for seven days in Troas and returned via Assos, Miletus, Coos, Rhodes, Patara, Tyre to Jerusalem (Acts XX–XXI).

4. He was received with joy by the "elder brethren" (Acts XXI), but when he was seen in the Temple with the

pagan-Christian Trophimus, the Jews caused a riot, from which Paul was rescued by the Roman tribune Claudius Lysias (Acts XXI).

IV. **The Captivity in Cesarea (58–60).**

1. To prevent further attempts against the Apostle's life, Lysias sent Paul to Cesarea, where Felix was governor (58).
2. After *two years* of Paul's captivity in Cesarea, Felix was replaced by Porcius Festus and the Apostle was turned over to the latter, Acts XXIV, 27.

   Besides the Gallio inscription this is *one of the most important dates for the chronology of St. Paul.* Felix became procurator of Judea *51–52* (Tacitus, *Ann.,* XII, 54; Josephus, *Ant.,* XX, 7). When Paul became his prisoner, he had held office for "*many years*" (Acts XXIV, 10), which points to the end of the fifties. His second successor, Albinus, entered upon his office about *62* (Tacitus, *Histor.,* II, 58). His immediate successor *Porcius Festus* was procurator a short time only, about 60–62 (cf. Jos., *Ant.,* XX, 8). Hence the administration of Felix *expired* about the year *60* and about *58 is the beginning of Paul's captivity in Cesarea.*
3. Festus was inclined to deliver Paul into the hands of the Jews. Therefore Paul, as a

Roman citizen, appealed to the Emperor (Acts XXV, 10–11).

4. Before leaving for Rome Paul had occasion to speak before King Agrippa II (Acts XXV).
5. With the centurion Julius he sailed *for Rome about 60.* The ship was stranded at Malta. After a delay of three months the journey was continued. The Christians of Rome came to meet Paul at the Forum Appii and at Tres Tabernae (Acts XXVIII).

V. **The Captivity in Rome (about 61–63)** lasted two years (Acts XXVIII, 30–31). It was so mild that Paul had opportunity to preach undisturbed, and could nourish the hope soon to be free (Phil. I, 26).

2. The description of this captivity (hope of relief and undisturbed preaching) does *not apply to the captivity in Cesarea.*
3. Therefore the so-called **"letters of the captivity,"** Col., Eph., Philem., Phil., which admittedly cannot be separated and wherein this description is found, were composed in Rome (not in Cesarea) towards the end of the captivity (hope of relief), *i.e.,* **about 62–63.** Sabatier, B. Weiss, Clemen, Deissmann, etc., take Cesarea as the place of composition. B. W. Robinson, *Journal of Biblical Literature,* 1910, thinks Paul was imprisoned at Ephesus.
4. Soon after the Epistle to the **Hebrews** was

written (about 63);

a) before 64, for there is no allusion of any kind to the Neronian persecution, which broke out in 64;

b) towards the end of the Roman captivity, (Hebr. XIII, 18 f.), from Italy (Hebr. XIII, 24).

VI. The Deliverance from the First Captivity in Rome.

1. Against the contrary opinion of a number of N. T. critics (Moffat, v. Soden, Wendland, etc.), this *deliverance must be admitted as a positive fact.*

a) According to I Tim. I, 3, Paul left Timothy on a journey to Macedonia as bishop of Ephesus. The three former missionary journeys (reported in the Acts) leave no time for this event, as during these, Timothy was always the companion of Paul.

b) The same argument applies to Tit. I, 5, where the appointment of Titus as bishop of Crete is recorded. The period covered by the Acts leaves no room for this incident.

c) The heresies mentioned in the pastoral letters did not obtain at the time of the first captivity.

d) But II Timothy was written in captivity; a captivity, however, quite different in

its rigor from that which is mentioned at the end of the Acts and in Col., Phil., and Philem. Hence it must be a second captivity.

α) In the first captivity Paul was surrounded by friends; in II Tim. Luke *alone* was with him;

β) In the Epistles of the first captivity Paul is full of hope for his speedy release. In II Tim. hopelessness prevails and the expectation of the end.

e) In II Tim. IV, 16, a "*prima defensio*" is mentioned, which can only refer to his first trial during the first captivity.

f) A second captivity in Rome is confirmed by external evidence: Eusebius (*H.E.*, II, 22); Jerome (*De Vir. Ill.*, V); Chrysostom (*In II Tim.*); Theodoret (*In II Tim.*); Athanasius (*Epist. ad Drac.*, IV).

VII. **Activity of Paul between the I and II Captivity.**

Journey to Spain (63–64).

1. Clement of Rome (*Ad Cor.* V, 6) reports that Paul came ἐπὶ τὸ τέρμα τῆς δύσεως, which can mean only Spain. Literature: Dubowy,

Klemens v. Rom über die Reise Pauli nach Spanien, Fbg., 1914.

2. The Muratorian Fragment mentions a "*profectio Pauli*" "*ab urbe ad Spaniam proficiscentis.*"

VIII. **The Missionary Journey through the Orient.**

1. Paul visited Ephesus again (64–65) and left Timothy there (I Tim. I, 3); he wrote **I Tim. (about 64–65)** while continuing the journey.

2. He came also to Crete and there left Titus (Tit. I, 5). While journeying onward he wrote **Titus (about 65–66).**

Whether or not the journey to Spain preceded the IV missionary journey cannot be ascertained. But

a) Since the pastoral letters are chronologically a unit and II Tim. belongs to the final period of Paul's life (second captivity);

b) it is probable that the journey to Spain took place about 63–64 and was followed by the visit to the Orient (64–66).

IX. **St. Paul's Second Captivity and Death in Rome (66–67).**

1. On the 18th of July, 64 A.D., Nero caused the great fire of Rome, throwing the responsibility for it on the Christians.

2. They were cast into prison, Paul amongst them, which is vouched for by II Tim.
   a) I, 8: he is "*vinctus . . . Domini*";
   b) I, 16–17: he is "in chains" in Rome, in striking contrast to the first captivity;
   c) IV, 6: he confesses "*iam delibor et tempus resolutionis meae instat,*" which connotes another difference from the first captivity, where he was full of hope.
3. In this captivity he wrote **II Tim. (about 66).**
4. According to tradition he was executed on the 29th of July, 67 A.D., at the via Ostiensis (*Alle tre Fontane*).

   Over his grave stands the Basilica S. Paolo fuori le mura.

X. Summary of St. Paul's Chronology.

A.D.	
3	Birth.
35	Conversion.
35–37/38	In Arabia.
37/38	Return to Damascus and flight to Jerusalem; Stay in Tarsus; Antioch.
44–45	Second visit to Jerusalem.
45–48	First Missionary Journey.
48/49	Council of Jerusalem.
49–52	Second Missionary Journey; I Thess., 51; II Thess., 51–.
53–58	Third Missionary Journey; Gal., 54; I Cor., 56; II Cor., 57; Rom., 58.
58–60	Captivity in Cesarea.

61–63 ..... I Captivity in Rome; Col., Eph., Philem., and Phil., 62/63; Hebr., 63.
63–64 ..... Journey to Spain.
64–66 ..... Fourth Missionary Journey; I Tim., 64/65; Tit., 65/66.
66–67 ..... II Captivity in Rome; II Tim., 66–.
67 ..... Death.

XI. Pauline Problems in General.

Literature: HEINRICI, *Paulinische Probleme,* 1914; DEISSMANN, *Light from the Ancient East,* 1910; PRAT, *La Théologie de St. Paul,* 1913.

1. *St. Paul and Hellenism.*

Literature: BULTMANN, *Der Stil der paulinischen Rhetorik und die kynisch-stoische Diatribe,* 1910; BONHÖFFER, *Epiktet und das Neue Testament,* 1911; NAEGELI, *Der Wortschatz des Apostels Paulus,* 1905; HATCH, *The Influence of Greek Ideas and Usages upon the Christian Church,* 1890; DEISSNER, *St. Paul und Seneca,* 1917; R. HARRIS, *Did St. Paul quote Euripides? Exp. T.,* 1919; GRANGER, *The Style of St. Paul, Expositor,* 1915.

2. *St. Paul and the Mystery Religions.*

Literature: KENNEDY, *St. Paul and the Mystery Religions,* 1913.

3. *St. Paul and the Old Testament.*

Literature: PRAT, *La Théologie de Saint Paul,* 1913.

4. *St. Paul and Christ.*

Literature: J. WEISS, *Paulus und Jesus,* 1909.

5. *St. Paul and the LXX.*

Literature: Prat, *La Théologie de Saint Paul,* 1913.

6. *St. Paul and the Law.*

Literature: Prat, *La Théologie de Saint Paul,* 1913.

7. *St. Paul's Conversion,* cf. above.
8. *St. Paul on the Areopagus,* cf. above.

Cf. Baldwin, *God Unknown, A Study of the Address of St. Paul at Athens,* 1920.

9. *St. Paul's Lost Epistles to the Corinthians,* cf. above.
10. *St. Paul's Lost Epistles to the Laodiceans.*

Literature: Bacon, *St. Paul to the Laodiceans, Exp.,* 1919.

11. *St. Paul's Second Captivity,* cf. above.
12. *St. Paul's Journey to Spain,* cf. above.
13. *St. Paul's Angelology.*

Literature: Dibelius, *Die Geisterwelt im Glauben des Paulus,* 1909; Everling, *Die paulinische Angelologie und Dämonologie,* 1888; Prat, *La Théologie,* etc.

14. *St. Paul and the Resurrection.*

Literature: Deissner, *Auferstehungshoffnung und Pneumagedanke bei Paulus,* 1912; Prat, *La Théologie,* etc.

15. *St. Paul's Eschatology.*

Literature: Kabisch, *Die Eschatologie des Paulus, etc.,* 1896; Prat, *La Théologie,* etc.

16. *St. Paul's Formula* "ἐν Χριστῷ Ἰησοῦ."

Literature: DEISSMANN, *Die neutestamentliche Formel "in Christo Jesu,"* 1892; PRAT, *La Théologie*, etc

17. *St. Paul's Formula* "ἐν ὀνόματι Ἰησοῦ."

Literature: HEITMÜLLER, *Im Namen Jesu*, 1903.

18. *St. Paul's Doctrine of Baptism and the Eucharist.*

Literature: HEITMÜLLER, *Taufe und Abendmahl bei Paulus*, 1903.

19. *St. Paul's Ethics.*

Literature: JUNCKER, *Die Ethik des Apostels Paulus*, 1904; PRAT, *La Théologie*, etc.

20. *St. Paul's Doctrine of Sin.*

Literature: WERNLE, *Der Christ und die Sünde bei Paulus*, 1897; PRAT, *La Théologie*, etc.

21. *The Anthropology of St. Paul.*

Literature: PRAT, *La Théologie*, etc.

22. *The ἀσθένεια σαρκός of St. Paul*, Gal. IV, 13, and *the σκόλοψ τῇ σαρκί*, II Cor. XII, 7.

Literature: LIGHTFOOT, *Galatians;* Prat, *La Théologie*, etc.

23. *The "πνεῦμα" in St. Paul.*

Literature: BERTRAMS, *Das Wesen des Geistes nach der Anschauung des Apostels Paulus*, 1914.

24. *The "Spirit and the Flesh" in St. Paul.*

Literature: PRAT, *La Théologie,* etc.; BURTON, *Spirit, Soul, and Flesh,* 1918.

25. *St. Paul and the Council of Jerusalem.*

Literature: PRAT, *La Théologie,* etc.

26. *"Faith" in St. Paul.*

Literature: PRAT, *La Théologie,* etc.; MATHIS, *Πίστις-ὑπόστασις,* 1920.

27. *"Justification" in St. Paul.*

Literature: PRAT, *La Théologie,* etc.; WESTCOTT, *St. Paul and Justification,* 1913; TOBAC, *Le Problème de la Justification dans St. Paul,* 1908.

28. *St. Paul and Original Sin.*

Literature: PRAT, *La Théologie,* etc.

29. *The πλήρωμα in St. Paul.*

Literature: PRAT, *La Théologie,* etc.

30. *The Hierarchy in St. Paul.*

Literature: PRAT, *La Théologie,* etc.

31. *The χαρίσματα in St. Paul.*

Literature: PRAT, *La Théologie,* etc.

32. *The Christology of St. Paul.*

Literature: PRAT, *La Théologie,* etc.

33. *St. Paul and Marriage.*

Literature: PRAT, *La Théologie,* etc.

34. *St. Paul's* ἱλαστήριον.

Literature: PRAT, *La Théologie,* etc.

35. *The "Maranatha" in St. Paul.*

Literature: BRUSTON, *La Vie Future d'après S. Paul,* 1895.

36. *The "Charis" in St. Paul.*

Literature: WETTER, *Charis,* 1913.

37. *The Pauline Formula "Induere Christum."*

Literature: OHLEYER, *The Pauline Formula "Induere Christum,"* 1921.

CHAPTER X

THE PAULINE EPISTLES

Besides the above-mentioned commentaries on the N. T. of *W. Meyer, H. J. Holtzmann, Lietzmann, J. Weiss, Zahn,* cf. especially:

LeCamus, *L'Oeuvre des Apôtres,* Paris, 1905.

Shaw, *The Pauline Epistles,* Edinburgh, 1902.

Cornely-Knabenbauer-Hummelauer, *Cursus Scripturae Sacrae,* Paris, 1890 f.

Driver-Plummer-Briggs, *The International Critical Commentary.*

Ramsay, *Pauline and Other Studies,* London, 1908.

Conybeare-Howson, *The Life and Epistles of St. Paul,* New York, 1890.

Knowling, *Testimony of St. Paul to Christ,* London, 1905.

Farrar, *The Life and Work of St. Paul,* London, 1892.

Knowling, *The Witness of the Epistles,* London, 1892.

Moffat, *Paul and Paulinism,* London, 1910.

Lemonnyer, *Epîtres de St. Paul,* Paris, 1905.

Bacon, *The Story of St. Paul,* London, 1905.

Toussaint, *Epîtres de St. Paul,* Paris, 1913.

Steenkiste, *Commentarius in omnes S. Pauli Epistolas,* Bruges, 1899.

F. X. Pölzl, *Der Weltapostel Paulus,* Regensburg, 1905.

Clemen, *Paulus, sein Leben und Wirken,* Giessen, 1904.

Weinel, *Paulus, der Mensch und sein Werk,* Tübingen, 1915.

A. Sabatier, *The Apostle Paul* (Transl.), New York, 1896.

Cone, *Paul, the Man, the Missionary, and the Teacher,* London, 1898.
P. J. Gloag, *Introduction to the Pauline Epistles,* Edinburgh, 1874.
Prat, *La Théologie de St. Paul,* Paris, 1910.
Monteil, *Essai sur la Christologie de S. Paul,* Paris, 1906.
A. Schweitzer, *Geschichte der paulinischen Forschung von der Reformation bis zur Gegenwart,* Freiburg i.B., 1911.
McGiffert, *A History of Christianity in the Apostolic Age,* Edinburgh, 1897.
Goguel, *L'Apôtre Paul et Jésus Christ,* Paris, 1904.

Of all the Apostle's writings only the **14 Epistles** are preserved. They are treated here in chronological order.

I. THE EPISTLES TO THE THESSALONIANS

LITERATURE

Besides the general literature cited above, see

Ellicott, *St. Paul's Epistles to the Thessalonians,* 1866.
Jowett, *St. Paul's Epistles to the Thessalonians, Galatians, and Romans,* 1894.
Askwith, *An Introduction to the Thessalonian Epistles,* 1902.
Findlay, *The Epistles to the Thessalonians,* 1891.
Mackintosh, *Westminster N. T.,* 1910.
A. Schäfer, *Erklärung der zwei Briefe an die Thessalonicher und des Briefes an die Galater,* 1890.
Monnet, *Les Epîtres aux Thessal.,* 1889.
DeFaye, *De vera indole Pauli Epist. ad Thessalonic. dissertatio critica,* 1892.
Vosté, *Commentarius in Epistolas Pauli ad Thessalonicenses,* 1918.
Milligan, *St. Paul's Epistles to the Thessalonians,* 1908.

A. The I Epistle to the Thessalonians.

Literature: JOHANNES, *Kommentar zum ersten Briefe des Apostels Paulus an die Thessalonicher,* 1898.

I. The Contents of I Thess.

Introduction, I, 1–10: praise for the Thessalonians.

1. *Historico-apologetical part,* II, 1–III, 13.
   a. Retrospect of Paul's work in Thessalonica, II, 1–16.
   b. Defense against Jewish calumnies, II, 17–III, 13.
2. *Parenetico-practical part,* IV, 1–V, 22.
   a. General admonitions for leading a Christian life, IV, 1–12.
   b. Instructions about the *Parousia,* IV, 13–V, 11. (The ἡμεῖς οἱ ζῶντες have no advantage at the moment of the *Parousia* over those who have already died.)
   c. Instructions for the community life, V, 12–22.

Conclusion, V, 23–28, greetings of Paul and advice to read the letter publicly.

II. The Occasion and Purpose of I Thess.

1. The Christian community of Thessalonica, consisting mainly of Greeks, was founded by Paul, Silas and Timothy on the second missionary journey, Acts XVII, 1–9).
2. Paul's preaching on the *Parousia* evidently

had not been correctly understood and caused dissensions.

3. To *clear up the misunderstandings* on this head is the principal aim of the present Epistle (IV, 13–V, 11).

III. Place and Date of Composition.

1. III, 6, shows the Epistle to have been written immediately after (ἄρτι) Timothy's return from Thessalonica.
2. But he met Paul in Corinth (second missionary journey), Acts XVIII, 5 ff.
3. Hence the Epistle was written in Corinth, about 51 A.D., which is confirmed by the reference to Achaia, I, 7–8.
4. III, 1, "ἐν Ἀθήναις" does not prove that the Epistle was written in Athens, as stated by Theodoret and suggested by the subscriptions in ABKL. Cf. Pauline Chronology.

IV. The Authenticity of I Thess.

1. *Internal evidence.*
   a) *Style,* vocabulary, and language are the same as in the four leading Epistles (Rom., I and II Cor., Gal.), which are universally recognized as authentic.
   b) It is in *perfect accord* with the historical conditions obtaining in Thessalonica that the *O. T. is not quoted* in a letter directed chiefly to a pagan-Christian community.

2. *External evidence.* It is contained
   a) In the *Canon Muratorianus.*
   b) In *Marcion's collection* of Pauline Epistles (Tert., *Adv. Marc.*, V, 5). It was known, then, at the beginning of the second century as a Pauline Epistle.
   c) It is further *quoted* as Pauline by *Tertullian, De res. carn.*, XXIV; *Irenaeus, Haer.*, V, 6, 1 (*"in prima Epistola ad Thessalonicenses"*); *Clement of Alex., Paed.*, I, 5, 19; *Strom.*, I, 1, 6; *Origen, C. Cels.*, II, 65. There are *allusions* to it in: *Pastor Hermae, Ignatius, Didache.*

V. Special Problems of I Thess.

1. There is no need to regard *II, 16, "pervenit enim ira Dei super illos* [*Judaeos*] *usque ad finem,"* with Baur, Pfleiderer, Spitta, etc., as a later interpolation, made after the destruction of Jerusalem. The rejection and punishment of Israel are viewed by Paul as accomplished facts even before the actual event.
2. The accounts of the *missionary activity* of Paul in Thessalonica, given in Acts XVII, 1–5, and I Thess. I–II, do not contradict each other, but the latter is a more detailed supplement to the former.
3. The *central problem* of I Thess. is the *Parou-*

sia passage, IV, 15–17, which recently prompted even Catholic scholars (LeCamus, Lemonnyer, Belser, Tillmann, Lattey, etc.) to admit *a chronological* (*not dogmatic*) error on the part of St. Paul, implying that he expected the *immediate re-appearance* of Christ.

Cf. *Drum's* controversy on this point in *Eccl. Rev.,* Oct., 1915; CAMPBELL, *The Second Coming of Christ,* 1919; TILLMANN, *Die Wiederkunft Christi nach den paulinischen Briefen,* 1909.

4. If I Thess. is admittedly the *"least doctrinal"* of Paul's Epistles, this is adequately explained by the fact that it marks the *beginning* of his writings and missionary difficulties.

VI. Decisions of the Biblical Commission.

On the 18th of June, 1915, the Biblical Commission decided:

1. It is not allowed to solve the difficulty, I Thess. IV, 15–17, by saying: *"Apostolos . . . proprios . . . humanos sensus exprimere, quibus error vel deceptio subesse possit."*
2. It must be held, *"Apostolum Paulum . . . nihil . . . dixisse, quod non . . . concordet cum illa temporis Parousiae ignorantia, quam ipse Christus hominum esse proclamavit."*
3. I Thess. IV, 15–17, must be explained in har-

mony with Tradition, in such a way "*quin ullo modo involvat affirmationem Parousiae tam proximae, ut Apostolus seipsum suosque lectores adnumeret fidelibus illis, qui superstites ituri sunt obviam Christo.*"

B. The II Epistle to the Thessalonians.

LITERATURE

BRÜNING, *Die Echtheit des II Thess. Briefes,* 1903 (for the authenticity).

KNOWLING, *The Testimony of St. Paul to Christ,* 1905 (for the authenticity).

I. The Contents of II Thess.

Introduction: I, 1–12: praise of the Thessalonians.

1. *Instructions about the circumstances attending the Parousia,* II, 1–17.
   a) Warning against credulity that the Parousia is at hand, II, 1-2.
   b) The Parousia will be preceded by the Antichrist: the "ἄνθρωπος τῆς ἀνομίας," the "ὑὸς τῆς ἀπωλείας," II, 3.
   c) The time of his arrival is retarded by a certain power, the "τὸ κατέχον," or the "ὁ κατέχων," II, 6.
2. *Instructions about the attitude of the Thessalonians towards one another* and towards the preachers of false Parousia doctrines, III, 1–15.

Conclusion: emphasis on Paul's own signature to protect the Epistle against forgery, III, 16–18.

II. **The Occasion and Purpose of the Epistle.**

1. Paul's remarks about the Parousia in I Thess. IV, 17 ff., were *misunderstood.*
2. Even a *forged letter* was circulating under Paul's name, to increase the confusion (*μήτε δι' ἐπιστολῆς ὡς δι' ἡμῶν*, II, 2).
3. Therefore Paul is sending *renewed instructions.*

III. **Place and Date of Composition.**

1. The contents and purpose of II Thess., as outlined above, *exclude a long interval* between I and II Thess.
2. This is confirmed by the fact that both Epistles meet the *same situation* in Thessalonica (arguments about the Parousia).
3. According to the Epistle, I, 1, Silas and Timothy were with Paul in Corinth when II Thess. was written. The same intimation is given Acts XVIII, 5, and from their subsequent silence as to Silas we may infer that this disciple, after his stay in Corinth, was no longer in Paul's company.
4. II Thess. therefore was written at Corinth soon after I Thess., *ab. 51 A.D.* Cf. West, *The Order of I and II Thess., Journal of Theological Studies,* 1914.

IV. **The Authenticity of II Thess.**

1. It is *denied* by a score of critics: by some because of the *differences,* by others because of the *similarity* between I and II Thess. (H. J. Holtzmann, van Manen, Wrede, Wendland, etc.)

   For the *defence* stand an equal number of scholars (Jacquier, Moffat, Gloag, Jülicher, Zahn, Clemen, etc.).

2. *Style* and milieu of thought at least are thoroughly Pauline.

3. The *external evidence* is overwhelming: *Polycarp, Ad Phil.,* XI, 4; *Justin, Dial.,* XXXII, 110; *Didache,* XII, 3; *Tertullian, De Resurr. Carn.,* XXIV; *Marcion* (Tert., *Adv. Marc.,* V); *Muratorian Fragm.; Irenaeus, Haer.,* III, 6; *Clement of Alex., Strom.,* V, 3; *Origen, C. Cels.,* II, 65.

4. The *arguments to the contrary are not convincing.*

   a) The partial similarity between II, 3 ff., and Apoc. XIII, is no evidence against the authenticity; Paul and John may have used the same sources.

   b) There is *no cogency* in the theory

      α) of an authentic *Pauline nucleus* with later incrustations; or

      β) of an *original Pauline passage* (II, 1–2), the residue being a later addition.

c) *Neither* is there *any proof* for the hypothesis that *I, 6–10 is an interpolation.*

d) It verges on the *impossible* to brand *II Thess. as the fabrication of a later Paulinist* on the basis of I Thess.; a forger would have avoided every discrepancy.

e) The *discrepancies* between I and II Thess. are *not* so fundamental as to warrant viewing the author of II Thess. as *corrector* of I Thess. (Wrede).

f) To let *II Thess. precede I Thess.* (Renan, Ewald, etc.) is incompatible with the reference in *II, 14* to I Thess., while there is no evidence at all that I Thess. was preceded by another letter to the same address.

g) Paul's *promise, III, 17,* of his own signature for future letters, which we find carried out only in I Cor. XVI, 21; Gal. VI, 11; Col. IV, 18, does not constitute a contradiction; nothing prevents the other Epistles from having originally borne the Pauline signature.

V. **Special Problems of II Thess.**

1. Regarding the ἄνθρωπος ἀνομίας, II, 3, "perhaps the obscurest passage in the writings

of Paul" (Gloag), it is disputed:

a) whether it is a symbolic expression indicating the outbreak of heresies, or

b) the description of an individual.

It is merely advancing proofless theories if the Antichrist is identified with the "*Nero redivivus,*" or with *Titus,* or with *Simon Magus;* or if the Pauline passage is characterized as a "*Caligula Apocalypse,*" or a "*Pre-christian-Jewish Apocalypse.*"

Cf. Gloag (*l.c.*), *The Man of Sin.*

2. Another object of dispute is the meaning of the "*restraining power,*" the ὁ κατέχων or τὸ κατέχον, II, 6 ff. The Fathers understood by it the Roman Empire (cf. Tertullian, *Apol.,* XXXII). Gloag, *l.c.*

3. It is of interest to compare the description of *Antichrist* by *Paul* with the *description in I John II, 18.*

4. The *differences* observed in the two instructions on the *Parousia* in I and II Thess. do not involve a contradiction; the warning of Paul that the Parousia is "*not at hand*" does not require definite knowledge on the part of Paul concerning the event. Cf. Matth. XXIV.

II. THE EPISTLE TO THE GALATIANS

LITERATURE

F. Rickaby, *Notes on St. Paul, Corinthians, Galatians, Romans,* 1898.
Lagrange, *Epître aux Galates,* 1918.
Lightfoot, *St. Paul's Epistle to the Galatians,* 1892.
Drummond, *The Epistle of Paul to the Galatians,* 1893.
Bacon, *The Epistle of Paul to the Galatians,* 1909.
Ramsay, *Historical Commentary on the Galatians,* 1899.
Steinmann, *Der Leserkreis des Galaterbriefes,* 1908.
Baljon, *Exegetisch-kritische Verhandeling over den Brief an de Galatiers,* 1899.

I. The Contents of the Epistle

Introduction: I, 1–5: it announces the two main subjects of the Epistle, St. Paul's *apostolate* and the doctrine of *justification.*

1. *Historico-apologetical part,* I, 6–II, 21.
   a) St. Paul received his Gospel and Apostolate *not from human beings,* I, 6–24,
   b) but his activity is in agreement with the doctrines of the *elder Apostles,* II, 1–14 (Council of Jerusalem; scene with Peter in Antioch).
   c) *Not the Law,* but Christ is the source of justification. II, 15–21.
2. *Dogmatic part,* III, 1–V, 12.
   The *O. T. Law* is the παιδαγογὸς εἰς Χριστόν, III, 24.
3. *Practical part,* V, 13–VI, 10.
   Instead of circumcision a *holy life* and the practice of Christian charity are recommended.

Conclusion, VI, 11–18, Summary by Paul's own hand.

II. The Occasion and Purpose of Gal.

1. On the supposition that the readers of the Epistle are inhabitants of North Galatia, or Galatia proper (cf. below the reasons for this theory), the situation must be surveyed as follows:
   a) Soon after Paul had left the Galatians on his III missionary journey, Judaizing elements caused dissensions in their community (I, 7 f.), by emphasizing the observance of the Law, esp. circumcision (II, 15 ff.), and asserting a departure in Paul's preaching from that of the really authorized Apostles, Peter, James, and John (II, 1 ff.).
   b) The disturbers were gaining partial success, as the Jewish feast-days began to be observed, IV, 10.
2. To prevent further apostasy St. Paul writes this Epistle.

III. Place and Date of Composition.

1. If the North Galatian theory is accepted it appears certain that Paul did *not visit Galatia on his first missionary journey,* for he did not then proceed farther than Derbe.
2. But he states expressly, IV, 13, that he preached the *Gospel* to them *twice:* εὐηγγελισάμην ὑμῖν τὸ πρότερον.
3. Hence the Epistle must have been written *after*

a visit made on his third missionary journey (53–58).

4. Furthermore it must have been written *soon* after the second visit to Galatia, otherwise the complaint of Paul about the *sudden* change of mind amongst the Galatians, I, 6 (ὅτι οὕτως ταχέως μετατίθεσθε), could not be explained naturally.
5. Therefore the most probable place of composition is *Ephesus,* the city Paul went to immediately after his stay in Galatia (Acts XVIII–XIX).
6. And there is every assurance that it was written at the very *beginning of his activity in Ephesus, i.e., ca. 54.*
7. To date the *Epistle ahead of the Council of Jerusalem* is an act of desperation on the part of representatives of the South Galatian theory. Besides this early date is made improbable by the similarity of Gal. to Rom., the latter being certainly written after the Council.
8. The opinion of Theodoret, Eusebius, Jerome, and some later interpreters, who think *Rome* was the place of composition, is supported only by the peculiar reading of Cod. B: ἐγράφη ἀπὸ Ρώμης.

IV. The Authenticity of Galatians.

The authenticity, *once denied* by the English deist *Evanson* and later by Bruno *Bauer*

and radical Dutch scholars like Loman, Naber and Pierson, may be regarded today as *generally acknowledged.*

1. *Internal evidence:*
   a) the language is typically Pauline, being a vivid picture of severity tempered by tenderness;
   b) the account of the concrete details of the historical situation (dispute about the value of the Law; hostility of the Jews) is such that a later forger would hardly have been able to invent it.
2. *External evidence:*
   a) *indirect,* consisting of patristic quotations from Gal.: *Ignatius, Ad Philad.* I, 1; *Ad Rom.,* II, 1; *Polycarp, Ad Phil.,* III, 3, etc.; *Justin, Dial. c. Tr.,* XCIV–XCV; *Barnabas,* XIII, etc.
   b) *direct,* consisting of positive testimonies for St. Paul's authorship: *Irenaeus, Haer.,* III, 7, 2, etc.; *Clement of Alex., Paedag.,* I, 6, etc.; *Tertullian, Adv. Marc.,* V, 1; *Muratorian Fragment.* Even heretics admit it, like *Marcion* (Tertullian, *Adv. Marc.,* V, 1); *Valentinus* (Irenaeus, *Haer.,* I, 3, 5); the *Ophites* (Hippolyt., *Phil.,* CVI, etc.); *Celsus* (Origen, *C. Cels.,* V, 64).
3. As an *interesting curiosity* may be noted the at-

tempt of Schanze to investigate the question of the authenticity of the Epistle by means of the modern method of the "analysis of sound." His conclusion is that half of the Epistle is Pauline, the rest an interpolation. Cf. SCHANZE, *Der Galaterbrief*, 1919.

V. Special Problems of the Epistle.

1. The *main problem is the controversy as to who were the readers* of the Epistle. *Three theories* are to be considered:

a) The South Galatian Theory, represented by: Perrot, the *founder* of the theory; *Ramsay*, its most zealous defender; V. Weber, Zahn, Bacon, Gutjahr, Rendall, Hausrath, Pfleiderer, Weizsäcker, Belser, Clemen, McGiffert, v. Soden, J. Weiss, Askwith, Walker, Chase, etc.

α) Γαλατία is taken in the sense of the *Roman province* of that name, (which embraced, besides the original province of Galatia, Pisidia, Lycaonia, Pamphylia, Phrygia, Cilicia), but *with positive exclusion of the original province of Galatia.*

β) Within these geographical limits innumerable controversies have arisen, *e.g.*,

α_1) concerning the *relation of Gal. II, 1–10, to Acts XV,* some admitting the identity, others (especially V. Weber) denying it;

α_2) with regard to the *date of the Epistle.* V. Weber places it, identifying the journey of Gal. II, 1 f. with that of Acts XI, 30, *before* the Council of Jerusalem. Hence some, as Briggs, Emmet, etc., regard it as the *first* Epistle of Paul.

α_3) anent the *opposition between Paul and Peter* in *Antioch,* which is placed by *V. Weber* before the Council.

γ) Reasons of various critics for this theory:

β_1) The title "Galatians," III, 1, seems suitable only for the inhabitants of the Roman province, Galatia.

β_2) Galatia proper seems too insignificant to be the addressee of a Pauline Epistle.

β_3) Paul in his Epistle, II, 1, mentions Barnabas, who never preached in Galatia proper.

b) The Pan-Galatian Theory, represented by *Mynster,* the originator of

the hypothesis, *Cornely, Jacquier,* etc.

α) It also takes Γαλατία in the sense of the Roman province of that name, but *includes Galatia proper.*

β) It is based on the obvious sense of Acts XVI, 6: διῆλθον δὲ τὴν Φρυγίαν καὶ Γαλατικὴν χώραν, which permits no exclusion of the "region of Galatia."

c) The North Galatian Theory, advocated by the majority of scholars, *e.g.,* lately by *Steinmann,* the triumphant vindicator of the theory; *Lightfoot, Howson, Jowett, Findlay, Salmon, Davidson, Gilbert, Williams, Holsten, Rückert, Sieffert, Zöckler, Lietzmann, Bousset, Godet, Trenkle, Schäfer-Meinertz, Haupt, J. Holtzmann, Blass, Wendt, Hilgenfeld, Knopf, Hoennicke, Schürer, Dobschütz, Mommsen,* etc.

α) It confines Γαλατία to the *original and proper Galatia.*

β) The reasons for this theory are decisive:

α_1) Acts XVI, 6: διῆλθον δὲ τὴν Φρυγίαν καὶ Γαλατικὴν χώραν —

following the report: *They went through Syria and Cilicia* (XV, 41) *and came to Derbe and Lystra* (XVI, 1), can, in the light of the geographical situation, mean only one thing: and then (*advancing farther*) they went through Phrygia and the *region of Galatia, i.e., Galatia proper.*

a_2) Otherwise we should have the senseless tautology that Paul preached in parts of Galatia, and *proceeded to Galatia,* since the itinerary does not admit of interpreting Galatia as a summarizing term.

a_3) The *same argumentation* holds good for Acts XVIII, 23 f., where we are informed that Paul, after a stay in Antioch, went on a missionary tour through the region of Galatia and Phrygia: διερχόμενος καθεξῆς τὴν Γαλατικὴν χώραν καὶ Φρυγίαν. Here again tautology results if Γαλατικὴ χώρα does not mean Galatia proper. Besides, καθεξῆς makes the forward movement from one district to the other unmistakably certain.

a_4) This theory is confirmed by the *geographical* (not political) sense of such expressions as: Acts II, 10-κατοικοῦντες. . . . Φρυγίαν τε καὶ Παμφυλίαν; XXVII, 5—κατὰ τὴν Κιλικίαν καὶ Παμφυλίαν; XIII, 13 — εἰς Πέργην τῆς Παμφυλίας; XIII, 14 — εἰς Ἀντιόχειαν τὴν Πισιδίαν; XIV, 6 — εἰς τὰς πόλεις τῆς Λυκαονίας, Λύστραν καὶ Δέρβην, etc. All these regions belonged to the Roman province of Galatia, but are here enumerated by Luke according to their *original,* not their *political,* signification; this, consequently, holds true also for *Galatia.*

a_5) *St. Paul's terminology agrees with Luke's,* since the former uses Syria and Cilicia (Gal. I, 21) not in the sense of the Roman province.

a_6) The statement that Paul was *forced by illness* to stay in Galatia, Gal. IV, 13, is historically impossible in view of the events in South Galatia.

a_7) The objection that in Gal. mention is made of Barnabas, who did not preach in Galatia proper, or that North Galatia is

too insignificant to enjoy the distinction of an Epistle, or that Luke does not say much about North Galatia, whereas Paul, on the other hand, selected important centers for his writings, etc., are more or less *argumenta e silentio* and therefore not conclusive.

d) **The North Galatians or Galatians proper,** Γαλάται = Κέλτοι (Κέλται) were a Celtic tribe which, dwelling originally beyond the Alps, formed after the 6th century B.C. settlements in Pannonia, Illyria, later in Macedonia and Greece, finally in Asia Minor. Here they received from King Nicomedes of Bithynia a certain territory in the centre of Asia Minor, which was restricted by Attalus I of Pergamon to the district later called Galatia. Under Roman rule the Galatian kings enlarged their territory, which finally, under Amyntas, embraced Pisidia, Isauria, parts of Lycaonia, Pamphylia, Phrygia, and Cilicia. After his death, *25 B.C.*, this whole territory became a *Roman province* named Galatia, but the original districts retained their names in the unofficial and even in the official

nomenclature. Their original language slowly gave place to Greek. But Jerome (*Ad Gal.*) still found traces of the old idiom. Also their original religious notions were blended with Greek and Roman elements. Such were the readers of the Epistle to the Galatians.

2. *The controversy concerning the relation of Gal. II, 1 ff., to Acts XV.* Against the assertion of *V. Weber,* etc., that Gal. II, 1–10, is not identical with Acts XV, but with Acts XI, 30, the identity of Acts XV with Gal. II, 1ff., must be maintained with the majority of scholars. The apparent differences can be satisfactorily explained by observing that

   a) the Acts describe public negotiations, whereas St. Paul informs us about private proceedings;

   b) Luke refers to the official action of the Church in Antioch, whereas Paul describes his own inner experience.

   Essentially both narratives are in accord on the *object* (the pagan-Christian situation) and the *result* (freedom of the Gentiles from the Mosaic Law).

3. The *dispute between Paul and Peter at Antioch,* Gal. II, 11–14, is a historical incident important *not only for the difference* of

opinion between the two Apostles, but also for their *harmony* after its settlement. Cf. LIGHTFOOT, *Galatians.*

4. The *relation of Paul to Judaism,* recorded in Gal., does not indicate any irreverence towards the O. T. Law, but higher reverence for the N. T. Law. Cf. LIGHTFOOT, *Galatians;* LÜTGERT, *Gesetz und Geist,* 1919.
5. *Gal. VI, 11,* etc., is probably a summary from Paul's own hand.
6. The *rhetorical power* revealed in Gal. is not an artificial effort, but the outburst of genuine fervor.

III. THE EPISTLES TO THE CORINTHIANS

LITERATURE

Besides the general literature above mentioned, see

MACRORY, *The Epistles of St. Paul to the Corinthians,* 1897.

BEET, *A Commentary on St. Paul's Epistles to the Corinthians,* 1890.

RENDALL, *The Epistles of St. Paul to the Corinthians,* 1909.

STANLEY, *Commentary on Corinthians,* 1882.

SCHÄFER, *Erklärung der beiden Briefe an die Korinther,* 1903.

ROHR, *Paulus und die Gemeinde von Korinth,* 1899.

A. The I Epistle to the Corinthians

LITERATURE

LIAS, *First Epistle to the Corinthians,* 1893.

HEINRICI, *Der erste Korintherbrief,* 1896.

J. Weiss, *in Meyer's Commentary,* 1910.
Bachmann, *Der erste Brief an die Korinther,* 1905.

I. Contents of the Epistle.

Introduction: I, 1–9: Salutation to the Corinthians and thanksgiving to God for the grace bestowed on them.

1. *Parcnetic part,* I, 10–VI, 20: dealing with the *disorders* that had arisen in the Church at Corinth.
   a) Disapproval of party divisions amongst the Corinthians and warning against false philosophy, I, 10–IV, 21.
   b) Warning against immorality and other disorders, V, 1–VI, 20.
2. *Didactic part,* VII, 1–XV, 58: *answering questions* of the Corinthians.
   a) Attitude of Christians towards *pagan marriages* and *marriage* in general, VII, 1–40.
   b) Attitude of Christians towards *pagan cults,* VIII, 1–XI, 1 (concerning the meat offered to idols).
   c) Directions for the *inner life of the community,* XI, 2–XV, 58.
      α) Regulations for *women,* XI, 2–16.
      β) Regulations for the celebration of the *Lord's Supper,* XI, 17–34.
      γ) Warning against the abuse of *spiritual gifts,* XII–XIV (XIII, 1–13, the *hymn of charity*).

δ) Information about the *resurrection,* XV, 1–58.

Conclusion: XVI, 1–24: directions for the *collection;* remarks about his own plans, the sending of Timothy; Salutations.

II. Occasion and Purpose of the Epistle.

1. About the time of his arrival in Ephesus, St. Paul had written a letter to the Corinthians, which is lost, but referred to in I Cor. V, 9 (c. 54).
2. Thereupon the Corinthians sent various messages to Paul in Ephesus, I Cor. I, 11; VII, 1; XVI, 17. *These occasioned I Cor.*
3. The *population of Corinth* consisted mainly of *Roman colonists.* When Greece, together with Macedonia, became a Roman province, 146 B.C., Corinth was destroyed by Lucius Mummius, but later rebuilt by Cæsar as Colonia Julia Corinthus. After the battle of Actium, 31 B.C., this city was made the *capital of the Province of Achaia* by Augustus.
4. The flourishing town was dedicated to a *life of pleasure and luxury.* The religious cult with its oriental elements centred around Aphrodite and was of a most licentious character. Κορινθιάζεσθαι became the expression for certain acts of sexual immorality.
5. *The Jews,* in the minority among the community, represented the higher principles of morality. The newly discovered inscrip-

tion: Συναγωγή Ἑβραίων, with its clumsy letters, points to a synagogue for the poorer classes (cf. DEISSMANN, *Light from the Ancient East*).

6. The *readers of the Epistle* were mainly converts *from paganism* (cf. XII, 2; VI, 10–11), but included also *Jews* and probably even *slaves.*
7. *Jewish intrigues* threatened to undermine St. Paul's authority (I, 11–13), and, supported by *letters of recommendation from Jerusalem* (II Cor. III, 1), to introduce a new Gospel (II Cor. XI, 12–15).
8. The preaching of the gifted *Apollos* attracted especially the educated Greeks and gave rise to a separate party (I, 12, 17).
9. The "ἐγὼ δὲ Χριστοῦ" *points to another party,* which, it would seem, claimed direct adherence to Christ, independent of the authority of St. Paul.
10. In addition to these party divisions there occurred *cases of immorality* (even a case of incest) which Paul had already dealt with in a letter, mentioned V, 9.
11. A number of *further disorders* menaced the community: Appeal to *pagan tribunals,* participation in *pagan banquets, abuse of the glossolalia, emancipation of women,* misunderstandings about the *resurrection.*
12. The sources of Paul's information on these conditions were members of the household

of a certain Chloë (I, 11), and a delegation from Corinth (Stephanus, Fortunatus, Achaicus, XVI, 17) who came to Paul with a letter, seeking, besides further information about *matrimony* and *virginity,* instruction on the use of *meat offered to idols,* the *spiritual gifts,* the collection, and the return of Paul.

13. All these problems were to be settled in I Cor.

III. Date and Place of Composition.

1. According to I Cor. XVI, 8, the epistle was *written in Ephesus;* but certainly not during Paul's first brief stay in that city on his second missionary journey (Acts XVIII, 19), since the Epistle mentions Apollos, who did not preach in Corinth until *after* the Apostle's first visit to Ephesus (Acts XIX, 1). Hence it was written during the *second stay of Paul in Ephesus* (Acts XIX, 1) between 54 and 56, probably in 56, and towards the end of his stay there, for he voices his intention to leave at Pentecost (XVI, 8). Cf. *Chronology of St. Paul.*

2. Opinions about the date are more or less in agreement. For 56: Findlay, Ramsay, Belser, Jülicher, etc.; for 51–52: McGiffert; for 53: Harnack; for 54: Bacon, Rendall; for 57 (58): Sabatier, Lightfoot, Alford, Plummer, B. Weiss, etc.; for 55–58: Jacquier, etc.

IV. **Authenticity of the Epistle.**

1. It may be said that the authenticity of the Epistle is *universally recognized.* The few dissenting voices (like Bruno Bauer, Steck, Naber, Loman, Völter, etc.) need not be taken more seriously than their reckless method of dismembering and dividing the document into original parts and later interpolations.
2. *Internal evidence:* Verse for verse the Epistle reflects the *character and style* of St. Paul.
3. *External evidence:* The external attestation is *exceptionally strong* and of early date:
   a) *Clement of Rome,* XLVII, 1, testifies: *ἀναλάβετε τὴν ἐπιστολὴν τοῦ μακαρίου Παύλου τοῦ ἀποστόλου*;
   b) *Ignatius* quotes this Epistle in numerous places as a well-known document, *e.g., Ad Philad.* III, 3; IV, 1; VII, 1, etc.;
   c) *Polycarp, Phil.* XI, 2, cites it with the remark: "*sicut Paulus docet*" (I Cor. VI, 2);
   d) *Diognetus,* XII, 5, quotes I Cor. VIII, 1, as a word of the Apostle;
   e) *Tertullian* uses it frequently against the Gnostics, *e.g., De Resurr. Carn.,* XLII;
   f) Even early *heretics* like Marcion, Basilides, the Ophites, recognize it; cf. Justin, *Dial.,* XXXV.

g) As supplementary witnesses might be mentioned: the Pastor of Hermas, Irenaeus, Athenagoras, Hippolytus, Clement of Alexandria, and the Muratorian Canon.

V. **Special Problems of the Epistle.**

1. The *factions in the community* of Corinth, I Cor. I, 12–13. Their number is disputed. Nevertheless *four* parties at least must be distinguished:

a) a *party of Peter,* probably insisting on the observance of the O. T. law;

b) a *party of Paul,* perhaps abusing the liberal standpoint of Paul;

c) a *party of Apollos,* attracted by the philosophical and rhetorical style of his preaching (cf. I Cor. II, 2, allusion to Apollos' "wisdom");

d) a *party of Christ,* probably priding themselves on their adherence to Christ without Apostolic intervention. This is also assumed to have been the strictly *orthodox party* (Cornely), or the party which boasted of *personal relation* or acquaintance with Christ (Hilgenfeld, Holsten, etc.). Some exegetes arbitrarily discard ἐγὼ δὲ Χριστοῦ as a gloss (Heinrici, J. Weiss, etc.); others read Κρίσπου instead of Χριστοῦ (Perdelwitz, Rhijn). But

there is hardly any vital difference affecting Christian *doctrines.*

Literature: JACQUIER, *Histoire des Livres du N. T.;* WHITAKER, *Chrysostom on I Cor. I, 13,* in *Journ. of Theol. Studies,* vol. XV (1914); CONYBEARE-HOWSON, *St. Paul;* LÜTGERT, *Freiheitspredigt und Schwarmgeister in Corinth,* 1908.

2. *The lost letter,* mentioned I Cor. V, 9.
   a) That Paul really wrote another letter besides I Cor. is apparent from the plural expression, II Cor. X, 10–11: *"epistolae graves sunt et fortes."*
   b) A far-fetched reconstruction is attempted, *e.g.,* by *J. Weiss,* who would find the lost Epistle in I Cor. X, 1–22; VI, 12–20; IX, 24–27, etc. Cf. also Sabatier, *The Apostle Paul,* referring to II Cor. VI, 14–VII, 1.
3. The *Lord's Supper and the Agape,* I Cor. XI, 17–34. The relation between the two is still a matter of discussion.

Cf. MURRAY, *Journal of Theol. Stud.,* III; FUNK, *L'Agape, Rev. d'Histoire Eccl.,* IV.

4. The *slaves* in *Corinth,* I Cor. VII, 21.

Literature: STEINMANN, *Paulus und die Sklaven zu Korinth,* 1911.

5. *"Because of the Angels,"* I Cor. XI, 10.

Literature: KELLET, *The Quest,* 1913; MOFFAT, *Exp.,* 8 S., VII.

6. The *hymn of love,* I Cor. XIII.

Literature: AINSWORTH, *St. Paul's Hymn of Love,* 1913; HARNACK, *Das hohe Lied des Apostels Paulus von der Liebe,* 1911.

7. *Baptism for the dead?* I Cor. XV, 29.

Literature: BINDLEY, *A Study in I Cor. XV, Exp.,* 8 S., VII.

8. The *man and his* παρθένος, I Cor. VII, 36-38.
The original does not suppose father and daughter, but a man (τις) and his virgin (παρθένος).

Literature: FAHNENBRUCH, *Biblische Zeitschrift,* 1914.

9. The *spiritual gifts* (glossolalia), I Cor. XII ff.

Literature: CORNELY, *Comment. in I Cor.;* SHEPPARD, *Eccl. Review,* 1910. (*Cf. Pauline Problems in General.*)

10. The *resurrection,* I Cor. XV.

Literature: CORNELY, *Comment. in I Cor.;* PRAT, *La Théologie de S. Paul.*

11. *Written sources for I Cor.?*
XI, 23 f, "*Ego accepi a Domino,* etc.," and XV, 3–7, the report of the resurrection; written sources are proposed by Resch (*Agrapha*) for the former, by Brandt (*Evangelische Geschichte*) for the latter passage.

12. *Two visits* of Paul before I Cor.?
a) Two visits are assumed by a number of

scholars, as Credner, V. Weber, Zahn, Schmiedel, Findlay, B. Weiss, etc.

b) But there is not sufficient evidence in favor of such a theory, since the Acts as well as I Cor. are silent.

13. *Paul's visit* in Corinth *between* I and II Cor. Its probability amounts almost to a certainty, because

a) I Cor. IV, 19–21, contains the promise of a visit;

b) II Cor. II, 1; XII, 14; XIII, 1, point to the fulfillment of the promise:

α) *"ne iterum in tristitia venirem ad vos"* cannot be referred to the first visit of Paul to Corinth;

β) *"tertio hoc paratus sum venire"* (XII, 14) and *"tertio hoc venio ad vos"* (XIII, 1) directly postulate a second visit before II Cor.

14. *The* ἐξουσία *on the women's heads*, I Cor. XI, 10.

Literature: *Kittel, Rabbinica; Paulus im Talmud,* 1920. Lowrie, I Cor. XI, *Princeton Theol. Review,* 1921.

B. The II Epistle to the Corinthians.

LITERATURE

Besides the general literature:

Plummer, *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Second Epistle of St. Paul to the Corinthians,* 1915.

Belser, *Der zweite Brief des Apostels Paulus an die Korinther,* 1910.

BACHMANN, *Der zweite Brief an die Korinther,* 1909.
LIAS, *The Second Epistle to the Corinthians,* 1893.

I. Contents of the Epistle.

Introduction: I, 1–14: The usual salutation; thanksgiving to God for consolation received in trial and dangers.

1. *Apologetic part,* I, 15–VII, 16: *Self-defense* of the Apostle against his Judaistic opponents.
   a) Explanation of misunderstandings, I, 15–II, 4; II, 12–17.
   b) Reconciliation of the repentant sinner, II, 5–11. (The ἀδικήσας, VII, 12, is probably identical with the sinner, I Cor. V, 1.)
   c) The glory of the Apostolate, III, 1–VI, 10.
   d) Reconciliation with the community in Corinth, VI, 11–VII, 16.
2. *Parenetic part,* VIII, 1-IX, 15: Admonition in behalf of the *collection.*
3. *Polemic part,* X, 1–XIII, 9; Dealing with his *opponents.*

   Emphasis on his personal suffering and sacrifices for Christ's sake.

Conclusion: XIII, 10–13: Salutations in his own handwriting.

II. Occasion and Purpose of the Epistle.

1. I Cor. IV, 17; XVI, 10, mentions that Timothy was sent to Corinth before I Cor. to

settle the troubles in that community. According to II Cor. I, 1, Timothy is again with Paul, but we hear nothing about his success in Corinth. This, probably, because Paul knew the situation through personal inspection on his "flying visit" to Corinth between I and II Cor.

2. II Cor. II, 3 ff.; VII, 6 ff.; XII, 18, mentions another Epistle sent through Titus. This intermediate letter is quite unanimously accepted (Bleek, Credner, Robertson, Olshausen, Schäfer, Drummond, Findlay, Jacquier, etc.). Paul had arranged with Titus (II Cor. XII, 18) to *meet him in Troas.*
3. Meanwhile he was forced to *cancel* this appointment; neither could his plan (I Cor. XVI, 5–6) to pay a longer visit to the Corinthians be carried out as yet.
4. II Cor. I, 15–16 supposes further arrangements of the Apostle concerning his visit to Corinth, which had to be changed. The reasons are given, II Cor. I, 17–II, 13.
5. Contrary to his own expectation he *met Titus in Macedonia,* II Cor. II, 12–13; VII, 5–7.
6. The report of Titus says:
   a) That the *situation in Corinth has changed.* The majority is faithful to Paul, the sinner is repentant (II Cor. VII, 7 ff.; II, 5 ff.).

b) But the *Judaistic opponents* of Paul *increased* their activity; they accused the Apostle of inconstancy (II Cor. XI, 21 ff.) and belittled his character (II Cor. X, 10 ff.).

7. These circumstances *occasioned* II Cor., which aims to be mainly:
   a) an *apology* for the change of his plans;
   b) a severe *arraignment* of his unfair opponents.

III. **Place and Date of Composition.**

1. The letter is written after the report of Titus (II Cor. II, 13), hence *in Macedonia, perhaps in Philippi.*
2. Therefore it must be dated *after St. Paul's departure from Ephesus, i.e., c. 57.*

IV. **The Authenticity of the Epistle.**

1. *Internal* evidence: *Contents, style, form,* and *character* of the writer undoubtedly point to St. Paul.
2. *External* evidence:
   a) Because of the many *personal* elements in the Epistle, it was not as frequently quoted in early times as I Cor.
   b) But it is recognized by practically all the witnesses for I Cor.: Clement of Rome, *Ad Cor.,* V, 6; Polycarp, *Phil.,* II, 2, etc.; Diognetus, *Ep.,* V, 8, etc.;

Theophilus, *Ad Autol.*, I, 2, 7; Hippolytus, *Philos.*, V, 8; Irenaeus, *Haer.*, III, 7, 1; Clement of Alex., *Strom.*, IV, 16; Tertullian, *De Pud.*, XIII; the heretics *Basilides*, the *Ophites* (cf. Hippolytus, *Philos.*, V, 2, 7), the *Muratorian fragment.* Hence the authenticity of this Epistle is well-nigh universally accepted.

3. *Its integrity* is assailed by a great number of critics. The dismembering went so far that practically only II Cor. I–IX remained as the real II Cor.; X–XIII is considered as the *intermediate letter* with sharp attacks against Paul's opponents, written in Ephesus. Titus is the supposed witness of the effect of this message, having brought the news of it to Paul in Macedonia. I-IX is then regarded as an answer, written in Macedonia (Philippi) to the report of Titus. All these theories lack an objective historical basis.

V. Special Problems of the Epistle.

1. The discussion of the *integrity* of the Epistle has led to numerous and *most complicated theories.*

   a) The most important is the theory of the *"Four Chapter Epistle,"* which identifies chapt. X–XIII, 10, with the intermediate letter, suggested by II Cor.

II, 3 ff.; VII, 6 ff.; XII, 18 ff. (Semler, Hausrath, Pfleiderer, Schmiedel, Moffat, Rendall, Bacon, etc.; Völter demands still more sweeping eliminations).

b) Another theory divides II Cor. into 3 different letters (Halmel; in another way, Lisco).

c) VI, 14-VII, 1, is largely rejected as an original part of II Cor. (Ewald, Davidson, Sabatier, Baljon, Moffat, McGiffert, Bacon). Concerning the origin of this assumed interpolation the theories differ.

d) Chapt. IX was regarded by Semler as a separate letter to Christians in Achaia.

e) Chapt. VIII also is considered as a separate document (Baljon).

f) XI, 32–XII, 1, is supposed to be a marginal note (Holsten, Hilgenfeld, Schmiedel, Baljon, Wendt, etc.).

All these theories are not based on objective historical evidence (of MSS., etc.), but on the subjective principles of Higher Criticism so-called, concerning the relation of I and II Cor., the difference in tone in the disputed passages, or the incoherence of thought in the same.

2. *An apocryphal letter of Paul to the Corinthians.* The Syriac, Armenian, and some parts of the Latin Church knew of an apoc-

ryphal letter of St. Paul to the Corinthians, supposed to be written from his captivity in Philippi. Originally belonging to the "*Acta Pauli*," it was sometimes regarded as an authentic letter of St. Paul.

Literature: VETTER, *Der apokryphe dritte Korintherbrief*, 1894; BERGER published the Latin version: *La Correspondance Apocryphe de S. Paul et des Corinthiens*, etc., 1891.

3. Is there a *rhetorical arrangement* in the composition of II Cor.? (Heinrici).
4. *St. Paul's bodily infirmities:* XII, 7; X, 10; XI, 30. These passages, together with Gal. IV, 13–14, gave rise to a multitude of theories. Cf. Epistle to the Galatians.

Literature: LIGHTFOOT, *Commentary on Galatians.*

IV. THE EPISTLE TO THE ROMANS.

LITERATURE

Besides the general literature:

LAGRANGE, *St. Paul, Épitre aux Romains*, 1916.
SANDAY-HEADLAM, *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Epistle to the Romans*, 1895.
LIGHTFOOT, *Notes on the Epistles of St. Paul*, 1895.
LIGHTFOOT, *Biblical Essays*, 1893.
SCHÄFER, *Erklärung des Briefes an die Römer*, 1891.
DRUMMOND, *Commentary on the Romans*, 1899.
DENNEY, *St. Paul's Epistle to the Romans*, 1900.
GODET, *Commentaire sur l'Épître aux Romains*, 1879.
HORT, *Romans and Ephesians*, 1895.

I. Contents of the Epistle.

Introduction, I, 1–17: After the salutation St. Paul expresses his desire to see the community of Rome and states his theme: *"Virtus enim Dei est in salutem omni credenti, Judaeo primum et Graeco,"* I, 16.

1. *Dogmatic part,* I, 18–XI, 36. The justification by faith through Christ.
   a) The sinfulness of the world and the need of justification, I, 18–III, 20.
   b) Significance of justification, III, 21–IV, 25.
   c) Fruits of justification, V, 1–VIII, 39.
   d) The O. T. Law and justification, IX, 1–XI, 36.
2. *Ethical part,* XII, 1–XV, 13: describing the fundamental elements of Christian life, which are mainly: humility, submission to authority, unity, and especially charity towards one another.

Conclusion, XV, 14–XVI, 27: Justification of his writing, description of his plans for the future, and salutation.

II. Occasion and Purpose of the Epistle.

1. According to Rom. I, 10 ff., it was always the Apostle's desire to see Rome. Now the time has approached to carry out this plan on his intended journey to Spain (Rom. XV, 28).

2. The paramount importance of Rome for the propagation of Christianity was evident. The *universality* of the Roman empire was apt to pave the way for the *universality* of the new Gospel. Rome, the centre of the old pagan world, was to be the decisive battlefield between paganism and Christianity.

3. The *Christian community in Rome,* already well organized and filled with the right spirit (XVI, 19), was not St. Paul's foundation. The Roman church was founded either by Roman eye-witnesses (Romans, Jews, Proselytes) of the first Pentecost in Jerusalem (cf. the "*advenae Romani,*" Acts II, 10) who brought the Gospel to the Capital of the world, or by *St. Peter,* who, according to Acts XII, 17, went εἰς ἕτερον τόπον, which, according to tradition, is Rome.

The evidence for the *Roman foundation by Peter* is early and formidable, being attested by Clement of Rome, *Ad Cor.,* V, 4; Ignatius, *Ad Rom.,* IV, 3; Dionysius of Corinth (Euseb., *H.E.,* II, 25, 8); Irenaeus, *Haer.,* III, 1, 1; the Roman presbyter Caius (Euseb., *H.E.,* II, 25, 7). The time of Peter's arrival in Rome is the second year of the reign of Emperor Claudius (*i.e.,* 42), according to Eusebius, *H.E.,* II, 13 f.; Orosius, *Histor. adv. pag.,* VII, 6; the Li-

berian list of the Popes of 354. Jerome's testimony, *De Vir. Ill.,* I, is based on Eusebius. St. Peter had to leave Rome after a short activity (cf. the testimony of Macarius Magnes in Harnack's *Kritik des N. T., Texte und Untersuchungen,* 1911), probably in consequence of the edict of expulsion of the Emperor Claudius against the Jews, 49–50 (Suetonius, *Vita Claudii,* XXV; Orosius, *Histor.,* VII, 6, 15).

Literature: Jacquier, *Histoire des Livres du N. T.,* 1908; Rinieri, *S. Pietro in Roma e i Primi Papi,* 1909; De Felice, *Origine de l'Église Romaine,* 1901; Duchèsne, *Histoire Ancienne de l'Église,* 1907; Lietzmann, *Petrus und Paulus in Rom,* 1915.

4. The communicants of the Christian Church in Rome were *mainly gentiles,* I, 5; XI, 13; XV, 15 ff. (so Belser, Meinertz, Pfleiderer, Godet, Von Soden, Peake, Moffatt, etc.), with a minority of Jews and proselytes. Cf. IX, 3, and Paul's reference to O. T. events in the Epistle, chapt. IV and VII.

5. In view of this, the *motive for St. Paul's Epistle* to the Romans cannot be found in the condition of that community, as it was in good order, nor in a personal relation of Paul to Rome, nor in differences between the Jewish and pagan elements in the Roman Church (Augustine, Estius, etc.), nor in the menace of Judaistic influences (Feine, Ewald, etc.), but only in *St. Paul's*

far-seeing recognition of the importance of Rome for Christianity as the providential preparation for the universality of the Gospel and in his vocation as Apostle of the gentiles.

6. The external occasion was the *departure of Phoebe,* the bearer of the Epistle, to Rome, XVI, 1.

III. **Date and Place of Composition.**

1. The collections mentioned in I Cor. XVI, 1, and II Cor. VIII, are now completed, and St. Paul is prepared to convey them to Jerusalem, Rom. XV, 22 ff.
2. The Apostle is *in Corinth,* for he mentions *Phoebe,* the deaconess of Kenchreae, the harbor of Corinth, Rom. XVI, 1. Likewise he sends greetings from Caius, who was baptized by Paul in Corinth, I Cor. I, 14, and from Timothy and Sosipater, XVI, 21–23, who were the companions of Paul in Corinth, Acts XX, 4.
3. Hence the Epistle *was written in Corinth,* where the Apostle after his departure from Ephesus and his journey through Macedonia and Illyria abode for three months (Acts XX, 3), *i.e.,* about the spring of 58, since he spent Easter in Philippi (Acts XX, 6) and intended to be in Jerusalem for Pentecost (Acts XX, 16).

IV. **The Authenticity of the Epistle.**

1. *The internal evidence:*
   a) *Style, character,* and *contents* unmistakably reveal Paul as the author of the Epistle to the Romans.
   b) The description of *conditions* in Rome as given by *profane writers* agrees with the data of the Epistle.
2. The *external evidence* is early and strong:
   Clement of Rome, *Ad Cor.,* XXXV, 5, 6, knows Rom. I, 29–31. Besides, the Epistle is quoted by Ignatius, *Ad Smyrn.,* I, 1, etc.; by Polycarp, *Ad Phil.,* VI, 2, etc.; by the heretics Valentinus, Heracleon, Basilides, Marcion, the Ophites (Iren., *Haer.,* I, 3, 4). It is positively attributed to Paul by Irenaeus, *Haer.,* III, 16, 3, 9; the Muratorian Fragment; Clement of Alex., *Strom.,* III, 4, 39; Tertullian, *Adv. Prax.,* XIII; Origen, *In Rom.,* XVI, 25. Its authenticity is therefore universally recognized, the negative attitude of *Evanson* and later *Bauer,* etc., being negligible. The statement of *Smith* that the Pauline Epistles were not known before 150 deserves no serious attention. The destructive method of *Völter,* which leaves only a few sections intact, and of *Spitta,* who divides the Epistle into two sections, has met with well-merited oblivion.
3. But its *integrity* is impugned as is that of II Cor.

II. 14-15, is declared a marginal gloss (Blass, Völter, J. Weiss, etc.);

II, 16, an interpolation (Baljon);

V, 7, a later gloss (Semler, Jülicher);

V, 12^b, likewise a gloss (van Manen, Baljon);

VII, 25^b, is pronounced misplaced, its original place being before V, 24 (Keil, Blass, Lietzmann) or to be expunged altogether (Völter, Baljon);

XI, 9–10, is also regarded as a gloss (Holsten, van Manen);

XV, 14–32, is taken as a series of glosses (Völter, van Manen);

XV–XVI, discarded by Marcion (cf. Origen, *In Rom.*), are questioned by Semler, Paulus, Smith, etc.;

XVI did not originally belong to Rom. (Moffatt, Hilgenfeld, de Wette, Pfleiderer, Holtzmann, etc.);

XII–XV is likewise considered as spurious (Scott, etc.).

None of these theories are of permanent value, in all of them "the wish is father to the thought."

V. Special Problems of the Epistle.

1. Is *chapt. XVI* an original part of Rom.?

There is a lively controversy about this (Ewald, Pfleiderer, Mangold, von Soden,

Schmiedel, McGiffert, Jülicher, etc.), because it seems improbable that St. Paul enjoyed such a large acquaintance in Rome as the address of salutation in chapt. XVI would imply. It is considered by many as a fragment of an *Epistle to the Ephesians,* sometimes also as a *2d letter to the Romans* (McGiffert), or as a letter *to Paul's friends* (Semler), or as a letter *to the Corinthians* (Eichhorn).

Lit. against the theory: JACQUIER, *Histoire des Livres du N. T.;* SANDAY, *Commentary on Romans.*

2. The *doxology,* XVI, 25–27.

a) The doxology, besides Cod. A, is found in about 200 MSS. at the end of chapter XIV.

b) But the most important MSS. ℵ B C D, and the Vulgate, place it correctly at the end of the Epistle.

c) The reason for the displacement was in all likelihood the liturgical use of the Epistle, for which chapt. XV and XVI with their many personal remarks were unsuitable.

Lit. RIGGENBACH, *Neue Jahrbücher für Theologie,* 1892.

3. *Omission of* ἐν Ῥώμῃ, I, 7, 15.

The omission was already known to Origen and is also in G. It is probably due to liturgical use, which dispensed with the

local characteristics. Lightfoot considered Rom. *without* ἐν Ῥώμῃ and chap. XV–XVI as a second edition for wider circulation by Paul himself.

4. The *terminology* in Rom.

A number of terms are used in the Epistle with a new and abstruse meaning, *e.g.*, πίστις, δικαιοσύνη, πνεῦμα, νόμος, χάρις, σάρξ, etc. They need special investigation.

Lit.: JOWETT, *Epistles of St. Paul.*

V. THE EPISTLES OF THE CAPTIVITY

A. The Epistle to the Colossians.

LITERATURE

Besides the general literature:

LIGHTFOOT, *St. Paul's Epistles to the Colossians and Philemon,* 1904.

ABBOTT, *The Epistles to the Ephesians and to the Colossians,* 1897.

OLTRAMARE, *Commentaire sur les Epîtres de St. Paul aux Colossiens, etc.,* 1891.

ALEXANDER, *Commentary on Colossians,* 1910.

HAUPT, *Die Gefangenschaftsbriefe,* 1897.

I. Contents of the Epistle.

Introduction, I, 1–14: The usual salutation and thanksgiving for the grace of the Gospel.

1. *Dogmatic part,* I, 15–II, 23: Treatise on *Christology.*

a) The absolute pre-eminence of the Son

of God in virtue of His nature and the reconciliation of God and man wrought by Him, I, 15–23.

b) St. Paul's apostolate for Christ, I, 24–II, 7.

c) Warning against the false philosophy that ignores Christ's supremacy, II, 8–23.

2. *Parenetic part,* III, 1–IV, 6: The true principles of the *Christian life.*

a) The new life must correspond with the union in Christ, esp. by charity, III. 1–17.

b) Special admonitions for wives, husbands, children, slaves, and masters, III, 18–IV, 1.

c) Recommendation of prayer for and prudence towards non-Christians, IV, 2–6.

Conclusion, IV, 7–18: Greetings from Paul's companions and himself, written by his own hand.

II. Occasion and Purpose of the Epistle.

1. *Colosse,* situated in the valley of the Lycus, a tributary of the Meander, is described by *Pliny* as one of the most famous towns in Phrygia (*Hist. Nat.,* V, 32, 41). *Herodotus* calls it πόλις μεγάλη (VII, 30). The town was connected by good roads with the Oriental world. But by the growth of

Laodicea and Hieropolis it was pushed more and more into the background, so that *Strabo* called it a πόλισμα (XII, 8).

2. This was evidently the reason why Paul had not visited Colosse hitherto. The Epistle is, like Romans, written to a community which Paul had *not founded* or seen before (I, 4, 7–9; II, 1). It consisted mainly of converts from paganism (the O. T. is not used), but included Jewish elements; cf. II, 11. The founder, teacher, and elder of the community was *Epaphras*, a Colossian (I, 7; IV, 12 ff). Because of some disturbance there Epaphras came to Rome (I, 8 f) to ask the Apostle's advice and help.

3. The *character of this disturbance* is difficult to divine. Numerous *theories* are advanced declaring that the trouble in the community of Colosse

   a) was stirred up by Jews imbued with an Alexandrian or Gnostic theosophy (Henle, von Soden);

   b) by Jews or Christians holding Essene ideas (Lightfoot, Ewald, Godet);

   c) by Mithraistic philosophers (Steinmann);

   d) or by Gnostic Ebionites (Tübingen School, Davidson, Pfleiderer, Sabatier);

   e) or by Jewish conventicles with a cult of the angels (Barth);

4. The Epistle itself reveals the *essence of the trouble,* as
   a) it points to a contrast between Christ and creatures, I, 5 ff.;
   b) to an existing cult of angels, II, 18 f, who were believed to have played a cosmic rôle as the στοιχεῖα τοῦ κόσμου (II, 8);
   c) to a prevailing false philosophy, II, 8;
   d) to a false asceticism, II, 20 ff.;
   e) to the presence of Jewish elements, II, 11 ff.
   f) Besides, Mithraism was known in Phrygia at the time of the Apostle's writing (Plutarch, *Vita Pomp.,* XXIV).

   All this leads to the assumption of a *Jewish semi-Gnostic teaching* with a sort of *angelic hierarchy* and a *mystical asceticism* (which must *not* be confounded with Gnosticism in a *later sense*).
5. The bearers of the Epistle were Tychicus and Onesimus, IV, 7–9.

III. Place and Date of Composition of the Epistles of the Captivity.

The four Epistles of the Captivity (Col., Eph., Philem., Phil.) are chronologically so intimately connected that the place and date of their composition has to be determined collectively.

1. St. Paul wrote these four Epistles in *cap-*

tivity. Col. IV, 3, 18; Eph. III, 1; IV, 1; VI, 20; Philem. I, 9; Phil. I, 7.

2. The Epistles were written during the *same* captivity.
   a) The bearer of Col. and Philem. is the same *Onesimus* (Col. IV, 7–9; Philem. 10–12).
   b) The captivity mentioned in Eph. and Phil. displays *the same characteristic hope* of freedom as Philem. (cf. Phil., I, 26; II, 24; Eph. III, 3, with Philem. 22).

   Hence the four Epistles belong to a captivity which did not exclude the hope of liberation.

3. This can only be *the first Roman captivity*, 61–63, not the imprisonment of Paul at *Cesarea* (Haupt, Clemen, B. Weiss, Sabatier, etc.), since there was in Cesarea no prospect other than the appearance before the Emperor, and no warrant to announce a personal visit to a community, as is done in Phil. (II, 2 f.). Much less can *Ephesus* be the place of composition (Robinson).

4. The Epistles must have been written *towards the end of the captivity*, since they belong admittedly to the same period, and Phil. no less than Philem. are written with the *hope of immediate liberation, i.e.*, about 62–63.

5. The *succession of the various Epistles* can be determined with probability:
   a) In Philem. and Phil. the hope of free-

dom is stronger than in Col. and Eph. Hence the order must be: Col. and Eph., then Philem. and Phil.

b) According to Col. IV, 10, and Philem. 23, Luke, Mark, and Aristarchus are with Paul; but they had left him at the time of Phil., as they send no greetings. Hence Phil. is of later date than the rest of the Epistles of the Captivity.

c) The expression, Eph. VI, 21, "that you *also* (καὶ ὑμεῖς) may know the things that concern me," compared with Col. IV, 7: "all the things that concern me . . . Tychicus . . . will make known to you," insinuates that Eph. was written *after* Col.

The *order of succession* is, therefore: Col., Eph., Philem., Phil.

IV. The Authenticity of the Epistle to the Colossians.

1. The authenticity is *called in question* by the Tübingen school and its followers (Baur, Schwegler, Hilgenfeld, Bauer, Pfleiderer, etc.) because of

a) the speculative *Christological character* of the Epistle and

b) the advanced Gnostic system supposed to be combated therein.

2. *Internal evidence of authenticity.*

a) The Apostle names himself as author, I, 1, 23; IV, 18.

b) The style, ideas, vocabulary, and contents fully agree with the other Pauline Epistles. The speculative character of the Christology is found also in Phil. and is, besides, postulated by the character of the supposed heresies. The rudiments of semi-Gnostic ideas (not the presence of a *complete* Gnostic *system*) indicated by the Epistle cannot cause surprise.

3. *External evidence.*

The Epistle is known to *Clement of Rome, Ad Cor.*, XLIX, 2; *Ignatius, Ad Eph.*, X, 2; *Hermas, Vis.*, II, 11, 8; *Polycarp, Ad Phil.*, XI, 2. It is *expressly cited like the other Pauline Epistles by Irenaeus, Haer.*, III, 14, 1, etc.; *Tertullian, De Praescr.*, VII; *Justin, Dial.*, LXXXV; *Clement of Alex., Strom.*, I, 1; *Origen, C. Cels.*, V, 8. It is found in *Marcion's Canon* as well as in the *Canon Muratorianus.*

4. The *integrity* is questioned in various ways:

a) Holtzmann distinguishes an *original Epistle* to the Colossians, *elaborated* into the *canonical Ephesians* and then into the *canonical Colossians.*

b) Soltau recognizes an *original Epistle* to the Colossians *with three main parts,*

amalgamated later with the Epistle to the *Laodiceans.*

c) I, 15–20, is declared to be a later *interpolation* because of its Christological doctrines (von Soden, Clemen, Holtzmann). Norden assumes a lost *Logos-source,* written from an O. T. point of view.

d) II, 1, is considered *an interpolation* because of its catholicising character (J. Weiss).

These theories, being needless or arbitrary, carry no weight against the solid arguments of historical evidence.

V. Special Problems of the Epistle.

1. *Was it written in Cesarea?*

This and all or some of the Captivity Epistles are assigned, without serious arguments, to the Captivity in Cesarea or in Ephesus by Beza, Meyer, Schenkel, Hausrath, Sabatier, Weiss, Haupt, Spitta, Clemen, Macpherson, Deissmann, Robinson, etc.

Lit. against the theory: HORT, *The Epistle to the Romans and Ephesians.*

2. *The Laodicean Epistle.*

a) Col. IV, 16, mentions an Epistle ἐκ Λαοδικίας that has produced innumerable theories, declaring it

α) either *identical with one of the other Pauline Epistles, i.e.,* with

Ephesians (Grotius, Mill, Wettstein, Lightfoot, Kaulen, Belser, Harnack);
or with I Tim. (John Damascene, Theophylact);
or with Philemon (Wieseler);
or with Hebrews (Schneckenburger);

β) or a letter from Laodicea to Paul (Theodore of Mopsuestia, Erasmus, Estius, etc.).

The *Ephesian theory* has been defended ever since *Marcion* ranked the Epistle to the Ephesians in his Canon as "πρὸς Λαοδικέας" (Tertull., *Adv. Marc.*, V, 11, 17).

b) The *Laodicean Epistle* mentioned in Col. IV, 16, was evidently written before Col. and, like other Pauline Epistles, is now *lost*. Interesting, however, is the injunction, Col. IV, 16, to exchange letters with the Laodiceans (cf. I Thess. V, 27).

c) The *pseudo-Pauline "Epistola ad Laodicenses"* (printed in Nestle) is a forgery of the II–IVth century and was rejected as such by the second Nicene Council (787).

Literature: LIGHTFOOT, *Colossians;* BACON, *St. Paul to the Laodiceans, Exp.*, 1919.

3. The *Christology* of the Epistle and the *Logos of St. John.* The similarity is recognized. But it does *not justify the denial of the authenticity.*

4. The great number of ἅπαξ λεγόμενα of the Epistle. They are accounted for by the nature of the heresies against which it is directed.

5. The *false teachers* of Colosse. This matter is still a subject of controversy amongst scholars. Cf. above.

Literature: Steinmann, *Gegen welche Irrlehrer richtet sich der Kolosserbrief?* Strassburg, 1906.

6. The στοιχεία τοῦ κόσμου.

Literature: Knabenbauer, *Comm. in Col.*

7. The *cult of angels in Colosse,* II, 18.

Literature: Williams, *The Cult of the Angels in Colossae, JthSt.,* 1909.

8. The *Fullness of Christ,* II, 9.

Literature: Caldwell, *Princeton Theological Review,* 1918.

B. The Epistle to the Ephesians

LITERATURE

Besides the general literature:

Belser, *Der Epheserbrief des Apostels Paulus,* 1908.

Brunet, *De l'authenticité de l'Épître aux Ephésiens,* 1897.

Robinson, *Epistle to the Ephesians,* 1903.

Westcott, *Epistle to the Ephesians,* 1906.

Klöpper, *Der Brief an die Epheser,* 1891.

Abbott, *Epistle to the Ephesians and Colossians,* 1897.

Alexander, *Ephesians,* 1910.

I. Contents of the Epistle.

Introduction, I, 1–2: Salutations.

1. *Dogmatic part,* I, 3–III, 21: dealing with *Christian doctrines.*
   a) Thanksgiving for the grace of salvation, I, 3–14.
   b) The doctrine of the *person of Christ* and regeneration through Him, I, 14–II, 22.
   c) The Apostle is their teacher by the grace of God, II, 22–III, 21.
2. *Parenetic part,* IV, 1–VI, 20: admonitions to a *Christian life.*
   a) Unity in the mystical union with Christ, IV, 1–16.
   b) Removal of sins, IV, 17–V, 20.
   c) Admonitions concerning the duties of the individual state of parents, children, slaves, masters, V, 20–VI, 9.
   d) Exhortation against diabolical powers, VI, 10–20.

Conclusion, VI, 21–24: Personal remarks and salutation.

II. Occasion and Purpose of the Epistle.

1. *Ephesus,* situated at the mouth of the Kaystros, was one of the most important places in Asia Minor, with the beautifully restored temple of Artemis, destroyed by Herostratos, 356 B.C. It was the *capital* of the

province of Asia and the residence of the Roman governor. In accordance with Paul's special tendency, he selected this *central point* of the Asiatic world for planting his Gospel, Acts XIX, 2 ff.

2. The question *whether Ephesus* is really the place of *destination* of "Ephesians" is a problem of the greatest difficulty.

a) The important words, ἐν Ἐφέσῳ, I, 1, are wanting in ℵ *B*; they were certainly unknown to *Origen* (*Catena Graeca* VI, ed. Cramer); *Basil* (*C. Eunom.*, II, 19); most probably also to *Tertullian* (*C. Marc.*, V. 11, 17). *Jerome* speaks of a text without ἐν Ἐφέσῳ (*Comm. in Eph.*, I, 1).

b) They are found in A D; as additions in ℵ, B, in *Irenaeus, Clement of Alex.*, in the *Muratorian Canon*, in the *Vulgate*, etc.

c) But even if the evidence of the MSS. would favor ἐν Ἐφέσῳ it remains beset with *other grave difficulties:* The Epistle throughout conveys the impression that Paul was a stranger to the readers (III, 1 f.; I, 15; IV, 21), whereas the Apostle spent about three years with the Ephesians. Furthermore, we miss in the Epistle the usual salutations to friends in the commu-

nity addressed, which again betrays a lack of familiarity between author and readers. All these circumstances considered, the textual question must be decided *against* ἐν Ἐφέσῳ. The phrase is a subsequent addition, the origin of which cannot be ascertained.

d) These unusual difficulties, together with the similarity of Eph. with Col., I Peter, Luke, and John, led one *school* of *critics* to a summary denial of the authenticity of the Epistle (von Soden, Heinrici, Clemen, Wrede, etc.).

It is quite customary to declare it a later *forgery of a Paulinist,* based on Col.

e) By *conservative* scholars the difficulty was solved in two ways:

α) by the theory of a *"Circular Epistle,"* according to which Eph. was originally addressed to churches around Ephesus Thus *Beza, Belser, Jülicher,* etc., think the Epistle was addressed to the churches of *Asia Minor in general. Deissmann* thinks of Laodicea. *Ewald* and *Belser* assume that Tychicus deposited the original in Ephesus and, as a consequence, it circu-

lated, erroneously, as Epistle πρὸς Ἐφεσίους.

β) by *identifying* Eph. *with the Epistle to the Laodiceans,* mentioned in Col. IV, 16 (Marcion, Grotius, Wettstein, Lightfoot, Kaulen, Belser, Harnack).

By assuming a "Circular Epistle" the chief difficulties are removed; namely, the absence of the usual salutation, (there being within the addressed churches probably no acquaintances of St. Paul), and the omission of the place of destination, as it was supposed to be read in different churches. The hypothesis of a "Circular Epistle" has a *scientific probability,* although the difficulty remains that even then the Ephesians do not receive that attention which we would expect from the historical circumstances.

3. Whoever the readers were, they probably formed a *Gentile-Christian majority,* as is suggested II, 1; III, 1, etc., and a *Jewish-Christian minority.* Cf. I, 11–12. They are surrounded by practically the same perils as the Colossians; hence the striking similarities between Col. and Eph.
4. The bearer of the Epistle is Tychicus, VI, 21, the same who with Onesimus delivered Col.

III. **Place and Date of Composition.**

Cf. the same chapter in Col.

IV. **The Authenticity of the Epistle.**

Despite the difficulties connected with the Epistle, its authenticity is acknowledged by a goodly number of critics (*e.g.*, B. Weiss, Sabatier, Jülicher, Harnack, Dibelius, Salmon, Godet, Zahn; Oltramare, McGiffert, Hort, Robertson, Brunet, Bacon, Knowling, etc.).

1. *Internal* evidence.
   a) Paul mentions himself as author, III, 1, 2, 8; esp. VI, 20.
   b) Style, character, ideas, and vocabulary are Pauline, some unusual terms and the remarkable Christology notwithstanding.
2. *External* evidence.

   References are traceable in *Clement of Rome, Ad Cor.*, XLVI, 6; *Didache*, IV, 11; *Ignatius, Ad Polyc.*, V, 1; *Hermas, Mand.*, III, 4; *Justin, Dial.*, XXXIX.

   Explicit testimonies are given in *Irenaeus, Haer.*, V, 2, 3 and the *Canon of Marcion;* by the *heretics* Basilides, Valentinus, etc. (Hippolytus, *Philos.*, VI, 34; VII, 26).
3. There is no reason for assigning the Epistle to Tychicus (Schleiermacher, Renan) or to place it in the second century (Tübingen School).

V. Special Problems of the Epistle.

1. The *place of destination* — ἐν Ἐφέσῳ.

Ἐν Ἐφέσῳ must practically be regarded as a later addition, and the Epistle as a circular letter. (Thus Hug, Bisping, Fouard, Belser, Schäfer, Meinertz, Duchesne, Lightfoot, Hort, Weiss, Oltramare, Abbott, Zahn, Deissmann.) Cf. above.

The *original* may have read: τοῖς ἁγίοις τοῖς οὖσι καὶ πιστοῖς or τοῖς ἁγίοις καὶ πιστοῖς (Baljon), probably not τοῖς ἀγαπητοῖς οὖσι καὶ πιστοῖς. Οὖσι certainly belonged to Origen's text and there is no sufficient reason for discarding it.

Literature: RUTHERFORD, *St. Paul's Epistle to Colossae and Laodicea,* 1908.

2. The *relationship between Col.* and *Eph.*

An unusual similarity between Col. and Eph. is admitted. The attitude of a number of critics is in favor of Col. and against the authenticity of Eph. (Ewald, Heinrici, von Soden, etc.). The reasons for the denial are unconvincing, since Eph. may have been written at the same time and in the same intellectual environment as Col., as is in fact suggested by VI, 21. Besides, there is no reason why the Apostle in two letters to two different places should not have repeated himself.

Literature: MOFFATT, *Introduction to N. T.*, 1911; GLOAG, *Introduction to the Epistles of St. Paul*, 1874; JACQUIER, *Histoire des Livres du N. T.*, 1901.

3. The *relationship between Eph.* and *I Peter.*

The admitted similarity proves only the acquaintance of Peter with Eph., but nothing against the authenticity of the latter.

Literature: MOFFATT and JACQUIER, *l. c.*

4. The *relationship between Eph.* and *Luke* and *John.*

The resemblance in terms and ideas proves merely, what is already known from other sources, that Luke was a disciple of Paul, that John knew about St. Paul's writings, and that all three represented the same Gospel, but not that Eph. belongs to a later period.

Literature: MOFFATT, *op. cit.*

5. The *terminology* of the Epistle.

Although in comparison with other Pauline Epistles this one is unwontedly sublime and replete with ἅπαξ λεγόμενα, it is not for that reason un-Pauline. Ἅπαξ λεγόμενα are a special feature of every Pauline Epistle.

Literature: MOFFATT and JACQUIER, *op. cit.*

6. *The Christology in Ephesians.*

Literature: JACQUIER, *op. cit.*

7. *The unity of the Church with Christ.*

Cf. JACQUIER, *op. cit.*

C. The Epistle to Philemon

LITERATURE

Besides the general literature:
LIGHTFOOT, *St. Paul's Epistle to the Colossians and Philemon,* 1890.
VINCENT, *Philippians and Philemon,* 1897.
Cf. Literature to *Colossians.*

I. Contents of the Epistle.

Introduction, 1–7: Salutation, thanksgiving and praise of the addressee.
Treatise, 8–21: appeal to Philemon to have mercy on the runaway slave, Onesimus.
Conclusion, 22–25: Hope of freedom, salutation.

II. Occasion and Purpose of the epistolary note.

1. While St. Paul was in captivity at Rome (1), he converted a slave by the name of Onesimus, who had run away from his master, Philemon, probably a resident of Colosse (so Bleek, etc.; Holtzmann assumes Ephesus as residence). Paul may have met Philemon in Ephesus during his three years' sojourn in that town. The Apostle, respecting the law of his time, sends the slave back to his master with a warm appeal for mercy, contained in this Epistle. The note is also addressed to Philemon's wife, Appia. It is written in Paul's own hand.

III. **Place and Date of Composition.**

Cf. the same chapter in Col.

IV. **Authenticity of the Epistle.**

1. Although the Epistle is not often quoted, because of its brevity and personal character, its authenticity is beyond doubt.
2. It is witnessed to by Origen, *Hom. in Jerem.*, XIX; Tertullian, and Marcion (Tertull., *Adv. Marc.*, V, 21); the *Muratorian Canon.*
3. The *early Syrian Canon* omits it. In his day Jerome had to defend it.
4. Only a few critics (Steck, van Manen) dispute the authenticity of this gem of N. T. literature.

V. **Problems of the Epistle.**

The Epistle is important for judging St. Paul's attitude toward *slavery*. Cf. Col. III, 22–24.

D. The Epistle to the Philippians

LITERATURE

Besides the general literature:

Beelen, *Commentarius in Ep. S. Pauli ad Philippenses,* 1852.
Lightfoot, *Epistle to the Philippians,* 1891.
J. Müller, *Brief an die Philipper,* 1899.
Vincent, *Philippians and Philemon,* 1897.
Von Soden, *Brief an die Philipper,* 1906.

I. Contents of the Epistle.

Introduction, I, 1–11: Salutations from Paul and Timothy; thanksgiving and expression of a desire to see the Philippians.

1. *Historical* section, I, 12–26: Information about the Apostle himself.
2. *Christological* section, I, 27–II, 11: with the *classical Christological passage,* II, 5–11.
3. *Parenetic* section, II, 12–IV, 9: Admonitions to lead a Christian life and warnings against false teachers (Judaists and Libertines).

Conclusion, IV, 10–23: Thanksgiving and salutations.

II. Occasion and Purpose of the Epistle.

1. The Epistle is addressed to the first church founded in Europe. Philippi (on the place of the old Κρηνίδες), a town in Thrace, was situated between the rivers Strymon and Nestus, on the famous Via Egnatia, the road linking Orient to Occident. Since 31 B.C. the flourishing town was a Roman colony, where Greek, Roman, Thracian, and Phrygian deities were worshipped.
2. The *community of Philippi* was founded by Paul on his second missionary journey (Acts XVI, 12). According to Acts XVI, 20, the Jews of the city had not the best reputation. Outside the town they had a

προσευχή, chiefly attended by women (Acts XVI, 13).

3. The *affection of the Philippians* for Paul, proved by former sending of presents (Phil. IV, 15 f.; II Cor. XI, 9) was shown again when Paul was a prisoner in Rome. They sent *Epaphroditus* with fresh gifts, Phil. IV, 18. The Apostle's answer expresses his gratitude, love and joy, Phil. II, 18; III, 1.
4. The *disposition of the community* was satisfactory, and the Apostle is full of praise, II, 15 ff., nevertheless he does not spare his fatherly warnings, I, 9 ff., and admonitions to humility (II, 3 ff.) and unity (I, 27; II, 2 ff.).

III. Place and Date of Composition.

Cf. the same chapter in *Col.*

To date the Epistle from Cesarea (Spitta, Macpherson, etc.) or with others from an Ephesian imprisonment, is a palpable mistake in view of Phil. I, 13; IV, 22.

IV. Authenticity of the Epistle.

The authenticity, once disputed by the Tübingen School (Baur, Bauer, Schwegler, Holsten) is now practically accepted by all (Hilgenfeld, Harnack, Jülicher, Clemen, Pfleiderer, Holtzmann, etc.).

1. *Internal* evidence.

a) The Apostle indirectly names himself as *author,* when he refers to his experience or his present condition, I, 13 ff.; II, 19; III, 4 ff.

b) *Style,* ideas, and vocabulary are undoubtedly Pauline. A special feature of the Epistle is the use of a more *literary Greek.*

2. *External* evidence.

References are found in *Clement of Rome, Ad Cor.,* XVI, 1 (free quotation of Phil. II, 5–11); *Ignatius, Ad Phil.,* I, 1; VIII, 2; *Polycarp, Ad Phil.,* I, 1; *Diognetus,* V, 9.

Phil. is directly witnessed to as a letter of St. Paul in *Irenaeus, Haer.,* IV, 8, 4; *Clement of Alex., Paed.,* I, 6, 52; *Tertullian, De Resurr. Carn.,* XXIII; *Marcion's Canon* (Tertull., *Adv. Marc.,* V, 21). Even by *heretics, e.g.,* the Valentinians (Clement of Alex., *Strom.,* III, 14).

3. *Integrity.*

Because of the abrupt transition in III, 1, the document was divided into two separate Epistles by Bacon and Hausrath, who date the hypothetical Epistle in chapt. III–IV ahead of the other, imaginary, Epistle of chapt. I–II. Some ask us to believe that III, 1–IV, 20, is a letter to Paul's friends, whilst I–II is the real Epistle to the Philip-

pians. Ewald considers I–II as original, but III, 1–IV as a congeries of additions.

These hypotheses are admittedly without foundation. Abrupt writing is characteristic of St. Paul.

V. Special Problems of the Epistle.

1. The *Christological passage,* Phil. II, 5–11.

a) According to the assumption, wholly unfounded, of the Tübingen School, (Baur, Pfleiderer, etc.), the background of the celebrated passage is some kind of a religious *Gnosis.*

b) Others attribute it to an early system of *speculation* (Clemen, Debelius, etc.); also an unlikely theory.

c) Holsten contrasts the passage with the ἄνθρωπος ἐπουράνιος, I Cor. XV, 45 ff., Cf. Rom. VIII, 3). But the ideas in either passage are positively identical, both arising from the same elements: μορφὴν δούλου λαβών = ἄνθρωπος; ἐν μορφῇ θεοῦ ὑπάρχων = ἐπουράνιος.

J. Weiss sees a rhythmical arrangement in the passage (*Beiträge zur Paul. Rhetorik*).

Literature: LIGHTFOOT, *Philippians;* SCHUMACHER, *Christus in seiner Präexistenz und Kenose,* I, 1913; II, 1921; GALTIER, *Obéissant jusqu' à la mort,* 1920.

2. *The* ἐπίσκοποι *and* διάκονοι, *Phil. I, 1.*

These official titles occur here for the first

time in the Pauline Epistles. But this is no sufficient reason for regarding (with Völter) the words as later interpolations.

Literature: LIGHTFOOT, *The Christian Ministry in Phillippians.*

3. *IV, 2–3,* is gratuitously regarded as an attempt to *reconcile Judaism* and *Christianity* (by Holsten).

4. The *theory of a second Epistle* to the Philippians.

It has been argued from III, 1 that Paul had written another Epistle to the Philippians, prior to the canonical document (Bleek, Ewald, Hilgenfeld, etc.). In fact, *Polycarp, Ad Phil.,* III, speaks of ἐπιστολαί (plural!) which Paul had sent to their community. The *Catalogus Sinaiticus* (Mrs. Lewis, *Studia Sinaitica*) also mentions *two Epistles* to the Philippians. No apocryphal writing of that kind is extant.

Literature: BAUER, *Der Apostolos der Syrer,* 1903.

5. *Paul's Roman imprisonment.*

Paul's expectation of liberty in Phil. is so confident as to warrant the conclusion that his imprisonment was about to terminate.

Literature: CONYBEARE and HOWSON, *St. Paul,* Appendix.

VI. THE EPISTLE TO THE HEBREWS

LITERATURE

Westcott, *Epistle to the Hebrews,* 1903.
Milligan, *The Theology of the Epistle to the Hebrews,* 1899.
Ayles, *Destination, Date, and Authorship of the Epistle to the Hebrews,* 1899.
Schäfer, *Erklärung des Hebräerbriefes,* 1893.
Ménégoz, *La Théologie de l'Épître aux Hebreux,* 1894.
Wrede, *Das literarische Rätsel des Hebräerbriefes,* 1906.
Heigl, *Verfasser und Adresse des Briefes an die Hebräer,* 1905.

I. Contents of the Epistle.

1. *Dogmatic* part, I, 1–X, 18: *Superiority of the New Covenant* (διαθήκη).
   a) Superiority of Christ over the Angels, I, 1–II, 18.
   b) Superiority of Christ over Moses, III, 1–IV, 13.
   c) Superiority of the High Priest of the New Covenant over the Levitical priesthood, IV, 14–X, 18.
      α) Christ is a High-priest, superior to Aaron, *secundum ordinem Melchisedec,* IV, 15–VIII, 13.
      β) His sacrifice far excels the O. T. sacrificial worship, IX–X, 18.
2. *Parenetic* part, X, 18–XII, 29: admonition to a *life* corresponding to the dignity of the New Covenant.

a) Essence and importance of *faith,* with an exhortation to *practical* faith, X, 19–XII, 3, containing St. Paul's classical description of πίστις-ὑπόστασις.

b) Prompted by remembrance of Christ's example and the eventual punishment for the neglect of faith, XII, 4–29.

Conclusion, XIII: Warning against false doctrines, esp. Judaism, and announcement of the author's personal visit in company with Timothy.

II. Occasion and Purpose of the Epistle.

A *question of extreme difficulty* is opened by the complicated problem concerning the *readers* of the Epistle.

1. The *inscription,* πρὸς Ἑβραίους, contained in ℵ A B; known to *Tertullian, De Pud.,* XX, *Clement of Alex.* (Euseb., *H.E.,* III, 38), and *Pantaenus* (Euseb., *H.E.,* VI, 14, 2), suggests either *Hebrew-Christians in Palestine* or Jerusalem, or Christians of *Jewish descent elsewhere.*

To *replace* πρὸς Ἑβραίους by πρὸς Βερναίους (Klostermann), or to interpret the title *allegorically:* to the Hebrews, *i.e.,* to all the faithful who are the real *spiritual children of Abraham;* is to offer mere curiosities of criticism.

The same is true of the theory which, ignoring the innumerable allusions to Jewish

conditions and institutions, misconstrues the Epistle as addressed to pagan Christians, turning πρὸς Ἑβραίους into a later addition, and making the references to Jewish institutions purely theoretical.

2. Some *opinions* as to the *readers:*

Jewish Christians in general (Schwegler, Baumgarten);

Jewish Christians of Palestine (DeWette, Bleek, Delitzsch, Tholuck, B. Weiss, Findlay; with the majority of scholars.)

Jewish Christians of Jerusalem (Langen, etc.);

Jewish Christians of Cesarea (Bartlet, etc.);

Jewish Christians of Syria (Rendall, etc.);

Jewish Christians of Asia Minor (Schmid, etc.);

Jewish Christians of Thessalonica (Semler, etc.);

Jewish Christians of Corinth (Weber, etc.);

Jewish Christians of Galatia (Mynster, etc.);

Jewish Christians of Rome (Wettstein, Holtzmann, Bruce, Jülicher, Harnack, Alford, Dibelius, etc.).

Hellenistic Jewish Christians of Alexandria or Egypt are surmised by Baur and Hilgenfeld, who identify this Epistle with the "*Epistola ad Alexandrinos*" of the Muratorian Canon.

Pagan Christians of Rome or Italy (Schürer, Weizsäcker, von Soden, Pfleiderer).

All these theories, as far as they assume mixed communities, are refuted by the Epistle itself, which supposes a *homogeneous* community.

Possibly, and even probably, the Epistle was addressed to the Jewish-Christian communities, or to a single community, in *Palestine. Possibly, but not probably,* the recipients were a small Jewish-Christian group, a *"house-church,"* in a community outside of Palestine (Bacon, Peake, Harnack, etc.; cf. Milligan).

As *inadmissible* must be branded the theory which relegates Hebrews to so late a date that it *no longer distinguishes between pagan and Jewish Christians* (Schürer, Wendt, von Soden, Pfleiderer, McGiffert, Wrede, Harnack, Perdelwitz, etc.). This assumption utterly disregards what is most characteristic of the Epistle, *viz.:* the *Jewish references.*

3. The *readers* are generally represented as
   a) having been converted by disciples of Christ, II, 3 f.;
   b) having suffered for their faith, X, 32;
   c) having lost their first leaders (ἡγούμενοι), XIII, 7;
   d) being in danger of a relapse, V, 11–12;

e) being quite familiar with the O.T. books, the O.T. law, sacrifice, priesthood, history, etc., to a degree impossible for pagan readers. Jewish expressions, like "*semen Abrahae*," II, 16, were not known to pagans;

f) being still surrounded by these O.T. institutions (VII, 8, 20; IX, 6–9; X, 1, etc.).

Such peculiarities point irresistibly to Palestine as the destination of the Epistle.

4. The *immediate aim* of the Epistle is to warn *against a relapse* into O. T. opinions and ritualism.

III. Date and Place of Composition.

1. The *terminus ad quem* is the destruction of Jerusalem. Hebrews must have been written *before* that tragedy, since after the fall of the holy city and the cessation of the O. T. worship, a warning against a relapse into Judaism was hardly necessary, nor was the diffuse argumentation concerning the abrogation of the Old Covenant. The temple, the O. T. worship, the Law, and the functions of the priests and the high-priest are described as existing realities (VII, 8, 20; XI, 6–9; X, 1; XIII, 10). The term "tabernacle" for "temple" does not justify the contention that the author was speaking of the "tabernacle" *of old,* as the

temple rightly could be called "tabernacle," being a reproduction of the O. T. σκηνή.

Furthermore, it is fairly safe to state that the Epistle was written *before the great Neronian persecution,* 64 A.D., as the author, writing from Italy (see below), surely would have mentioned that catastrophe, whereas X, 32, or XII, 4, cannot be taken as allusions to it.

A date *preceding the destruction of Jerusalem* is accepted by the majority of scholars: Schürer, Ewald, DeWette, Hilgenfeld, Salmon, Renan, Ramsay, Belser, Meinertz, Ménégoz, Rendall, Godet, Farrar, Davidson, Clemen, Findlay, etc.

The *theory of the reign of Domitian* as the time of composition of Hebr. (Holtzmann, von Soden, Jülicher, Zahn, McGiffert, Goodspeed, Wrede, etc.) is untenable for the reasons mentioned above. (The O. T. institutions were still in existence.).

The *second century theory* (Pfleiderer, Volkmar, Hausrath, etc.) is refuted by the indisputable fact that Hebrews was known to *Clement of Rome, Ad Cor. XXXIV,* 2 f.

2. The *terminus a quo.* The Epistle cannot have been written before the first Roman captivity of Paul (61–63). The author manifestly depends, among other Epistles, on Philippians (Phil. II, 9 f. = Hebr. I, 4, etc.), and therefore wrote later,

3. Hence the *terminus in quo* is *probably 63*.
4. The *place of composition* is probably *Italy* (Rome), since the expression, οἱ ἀπὸ τῆς Ἰταλίας, XIII, 24, designates most naturally not only the nationality of the author's companions, but even more so the place of his residence. Cod. A reads: ἀπὸ τῆς Ῥώμης; the Peshitta: "Written from Italy, from Rome, sent through Timothy." Besides, XIII, 18 ff., indicates a captivity relieved by the hope of deliverance.

IV. The Author and Authenticity of the Epistle.

1. The *author*. The question of authorship was raised already in Patristic times, and the answer was the desperate confession: Θεὸς οἶδεν = God knows! (Origen).

A. The *difficulties are numerous* indeed:

a) The Epistle contains about 140 ἅπαξ λεγόμενα, *i.e.*, terms not found in any other book of the New Testament.

b) The stress of emotion does not vent itself in the famous Pauline "anacolutha," but a rather perfect and polished form is maintained throughout. In fact, equally with the prologue of Luke's Gospel, Hebrews represents the best Greek in the New

Testament. The style is literary, with rhetorical elements, employing philosophical *termini technici* and ideas like δημιουργοί, θέλησις, the contrast between type and reality, summarized in πίστις. Blass claims to have discovered rhythmical, artificial prose. Origen had already adverted to a difference in style between this and the rest of the Pauline Epistles (Euseb., *H.E.*, VI, 25).

c) Instead of the Pauline preamble to *O. T. quotations:* ὡς γέγραπται, ἡ γραφὴ λέγει, κατὰ τὸ γεγραμμένον, Hebrews introduces God, the Son of God, or the Holy Ghost, as speaking directly.

d) The Epistle lacks the usual Pauline introduction with salutations and thanksgiving.

e) Hence it makes the impression of a treatise rather than of an Epistle, the more so since the personal features are far less frequent than in the other Pauline Epistles.

f) The Pauline formula Χριστὸς Ἰησοῦς is missing.

g) Modern radical critics declare even the ideas of Hebrews, such as Faith, Law, Spirit, Christology, to be "un-Pauline."

B. *The solution of these difficulties* was attempted early and occasioned a number of theories, differing widely in themselves, but agreeing on the final result that *St. Paul himself cannot be the immediate author of Hebrews.*

a) *Clement of Alexandria* (Euseb., *H.E.*, VI, 14) assumed a *Hebrew original,* of which our Epistle would be a *translation* by Luke.

b) Origen (Euseb., *H.E.*, VI, 25) attributed Hebr. to a *disciple of Paul* and called attention to the fact that, granting the difference in language, the thoughts are Pauline: τὰ μὲν νοήματα τοῦ ἀποστόλου ἐστίν.

c) The "*Tractatus Origenis de Libris S. Scripturarum*" (ed. by Batiffol) quotes Hebrews XIII, 15, as the work of "*sanctissimus Barnabas.*"

d) *Tertullian* also, *De Pud.*, XX, names Barnabas as author.

e) *Jerome, De Vir. Ill.,* V, leaves the choice between *Barnabas, Luke,* or *Clement of Rome.*

f) Later and modern theories mentioned practically every name of the Pauline circle:

α) for *Barnabas* are: Fouard, Grau, Schmidt, Volkmar, Thiersch, Ritschl, Renan, Salmon, B. Weiss, Blass, Gregory, Heinrici, Barth, Dibelius, etc.

β) for *Clement of Rome:* Erasmus, Cajetan, Reithmayr, Bisping, Cornely, Kaulen, Seisenberger, etc.

γ) for *Apollos:* Luther, Semler, Bleek, DeWette, Zahn, Hilgenfeld, von Soden, Lünemann, Tholuck, Alford, Moulton, Farrar, Belser, Klostermann, Resch, etc.

δ) for *Silvanus:* Mynster, Godet, etc.

ε) for *St. Peter:* Rendall, Welch, etc.

ζ) for the deacon *Philip:* Ramsay, Hicks, etc.

η) for *Aristion:* Chapman

(who ascribes the close of Mark to the same author), Perdelwitz, etc.

θ) for *Priscilla* and *Aquila:* Harnack, Peake, Rendel Harris, etc.

ι) for *Luke:* Calvin, Grotius, Delitzsch, Hug, Döllinger, Lewis, etc.

κ) for an *anonymous* writer parading under Paul's name: Schwegler.

λ) for a *translation* from the Hebrew by Luke or another Paulinist: Michaelis.

All these theories are mere attempts to solve a difficulty which nevertheless still remains unsolved.

C. The *only point of certainty* is that, as had already been emphasized by Origen, the *ideas* of the Epistle are essentially Pauline; for instance.

a) that the O. T. aside from the literal sense has a mystical sense. Cf. Hebr. with Gal. IV; I Cor. IX; II Cor. III; Rom. V.

b) The admitted similarity of Hebrews to Rom., Cor., Phil.

c) The conclusion of the Epistle doubtless is of Pauline prove-

nance and was probably written by Paul himself.

2. The *authenticity* is therefore surprisingly well attested.

a) The *Oriental Church* ascribed Hebr. almost unanimously to Paul. (The Alexandrian bishops Dionysius, Peter, Alexander, Athanasius, Cyril. Also Eusebius, Theophilus of Antioch, Cyril of Jerusalem, Ephrem, Epiphanius, Basil, Gregory Nazianzen, Gregory of Nyssa, Chrysostom, Theodore of Mopsuestia; The Synod of Antioch, 264.)

b) Regarding the *Occidental Church* the situation is complicated.

α) Hebr. was *in use* very early, as shown in the quotations by Clement of Rome, *Ad. Cor.*, XVII, 1; Tertullian, *De Pud.*, XX, Irenaeus (Euseb., *H.E.*, V, 26).

β) But it was *not accepted* by the Roman presbyter Cajus (Euseb., *H.E.*, VI, 20); Cyprian, *Adv. Jud.*, I, 20; the Muratorian Canon; the Canon Mommsensis (about 260). The reason was the abuse of the Epistle by the Novatians (Philastrius, *De Haeres.*, LXXXIX).

γ) *After the Arian heresy* Hebr. was generally *accepted in the West* (Hilary, Lucifer of Calaris, Marius Victorinus, Ambrose, Priscillian, the Synods of Hippo (393), of Carthage (397), of Rome (494); Jerome and Augustine admitted its canonical character, but doubted its direct Pauline origin.

V. Special Problems of the Epistle.

1. The *readers* of the Epistle. Cf. above.

Literature: Heigl, *Verfasser und Adresse des Briefes an die Hebräer,* 1905.

2. The *author of the Epistle.* Cf. above.

Literature: Heigl, *l.c.*

3. The *style of the Epistle.*

Literature: Rendall, *Hebrews,* 1888; Jacquier, *Histoire des Livres du N. T.;* Wrede, *Das literarische Rätsel des Hebräerbriefes,* 1906.

4. The *conclusion* of the Epistle, XIII, 18–25.

Literature: Wrede, *l.c.*

5. The *altar of sacrifices* in the Epistle, IX–X.
6. The *"tabernacle"* in the Epistle.
7. The διαθήκη in Hebrews.

Literature: Carr, *Covenant or Testament?* (*Expositor.* 7 S., VII).

8. The *Christology* of Hebrews.

Literature: MacNeill, *Christology of the Epistle to the Hebrews,* 1914.

9. The *impossibility of conversion,* VI, 4–7.

10. Hebr. II, 3, the *source of Paul's apostolate.*

11. The alleged *ignorance* of the author *concerning the Temple,* Hebr. IX, 3, 4.

12. The *relation* of the Epistle *to Alexandrinian speculation.*

Literature: Smit, *De Auctore et de Modo Compositionis Epistolae ad Hebraeos,* in *Nederl. Kath. Stemmen,* 1914; Jacquier, *Histoire des Livres du N. T.*

13. The *attitude of Hebrews to the sacrificial banquet.*

Literature: Spitta, *Urchristentum* (finds in Hebrews XIII a protest against the sacrificial repast).

14. *Hebrews and the Wisdom of Solomon.*

Literature: Milligan, *The Theology of the Epistle to the Hebrews,* 1899.

15. *The notion of "Faith" in the Epistle.*

Literature: Mathis, Πίστις-Ὑπόστασις *in Hebr. XI, 1,* 1920.

16. *The "Law" in Hebrews.*

Literature: Jacquier, *Histoire des Livres du N. T.*

VI. Decision of the Biblical Commission, July 24, 1914.

1. This declaration states that neither the doubts of the Western Church nor the difficulties

concerning the style and contents of Hebr. count against its Pauline origin.

2. But it is not necessary to assume that Paul himself was the author of the external form of the Epistle.

VII. THE PASTORAL EPISTLES

LITERATURE

Besides the general literature:

James, *The Genuineness and Authorship of the Pastoral Epistles,* 1906.

Parry, *The Pastoral Epistles,* 1920.

Bertrand, *Essai Critique sur l'Authenticité des Épitres Pastorales,* 1887.

Belser, *Die Briefe des Apostels Paulus an Timotheus und Titus,* 1907.

Meinertz, *Die Pastoralbriefe des hl. Paulus,* 1913.

Laughlin, *The Pastoral Epistles in the Light of the Roman Imprisonment,* 1905.

The Pastoral Epistles, like the Epistles of the Captivity, constitute a group of documents closely interrelated and belonging to the same period.

A. The First Epistle to Timothy

I. Contents of the Epistle.

Introduction, I, 1–2: Salutations.

1. *Instructions to Timothy* to meet the heresies of Ephesus, I, 3–IV, 16.

These are

a) antinomian, I, 7;

b) inclined to myths and genealogies, I, 4;

c) inclined to a ψευδώνυμος γνῶσις, VI, 20;

d) inclined toward encratic tendencies. IV, 1–5.

They have to be met by:

a) prayer, II, 1–7;

b) a correct life by the members and superiors of the community, II, 8–III, 16;

c) the preaching of truth, IV, 6–10;

d) the example of Timothy, IV, 11–16.

2. *Instructions for practical pastoral functions,* V, 1–VI, 2.

Concerning

a) the prayers at the divine service, II, 8–15;

b) the ἐπισκοπή, III, 1–7;

c) the deaconship, III, 8–12;

d) the widows, V, 3–16;

e) the presbyters, V, 17–22;

f) the slaves, VI, 1–2.

3. *Christ's example and work* are our guides, VI, 3–19.

Conclusion, VI, 20–21: Salutations.

II. The Occasion and Purpose of the Epistle.

1. Timothy, the son of a pagan father and a Jewish mother (Acts XVI, 1 ff.), came from Lystra. The name of his mother, Eunice, and of his grandmother, Lois, is

mentioned II Tim. I, 5. After his conversion by Paul, on the latter's second missionary journey, he is nearly always found by the side of the Apostle. In the introductory greetings of six Epistles (I and II Thess., II Cor., Col., Philem., Phil.) his name is mentioned. He carried important messages to Thessalonica (I Thess. III, 2) and Corinth (I Cor. IV, 17), and stayed with Paul during his first Roman captivity (cf. Col., Philem., Phil.). After this captivity he probably continued with Paul, accompanied him to Ephesus and was appointed bishop of that city. St. Paul, in his second Roman captivity, expresses a desire to see this faithful companion before his death (II Tim. IV, 20).

2. The *historical atmosphere* pervading this and the rest of the Pastoral Epistles, arrests attention and reveals a *progressive development of heresies as well as ecclesiastical institutions.*

a) The Epistle betrays the existence of the beginnings of a *syncretistic Gnosticism* (ψευδώνυμος γνῶσις, VI, 20), probably of *Jewish speculative* character influenced by Jewish apocryphal literature (I. 7–8), γενεαλογίαι and μῦθοι (I, 4), with *antinomian* (I, 8 f.) as well as *encratic* tendencies, especially contempt for matrimony (IV, 3).

The terminology is rather vague, which *forbids* the assumption of *any definite Gnostic system, e.g.,* of the Naassenes, Ophites, or Essenes, etc., suggested by some with a view of ascribing the Epistle to a later period.

b) The progress in *ecclesiastical organization* is marked by the existence of bishops, presbyters, deacons (III, 1, 8; V, 17). Christian doctrine is named by a special term, διδασκαλία (III, 16); ὁμολογία (VI, 13) seems synonymous with "*professio fidei.*"

3. The Epistle cautions Bishop Timothy to *oppose the heresies* by the preaching of the Christian truth and by prudent leadership, especially in appointing ecclesiastical officers.

III. Place and Date of Composition.

1. Having been released from his first Roman captivity (about 63), Paul proceeded to Spain (63–64). Later he once more took up his activity in the East (64–66), during which Timothy was appointed bishop of Ephesus.

I Tim. seems to be written *immediately after the Apostle's visit to Ephesus and Timothy's appointment, i.e.,* about *64–65.* Cf. St. Paul's *Chronology.*

2. Such critics as deny Paul's authorship of the

Pastoral Epistles maintain that they were written between 90 and 115; the *terminus ad quem* being *Ignatius* and *Polycarp,* to whom they were known (*Ignatius, Magn.,* XI, *Smyrn.,* X, etc.; *Polycarp, Ad Phil.,* IV, VI, etc.).

3. The *chronological order* of the Pastoral Epistles can be given approximately.
   a) II Tim. is the last in order, being written in the second Roman captivity after the outbreak of the Neronian persecution and towards the end of Paul's life, *i.e.*, about 66 (cf. IV, 6).
   b) I Tim. and Tit. were written before this captivity, during St. Paul's missionary campaign in the East, after his first captivity. Since Paul apparently went first to Ephesus, where he left Timothy, and then to Crete, where he appointed Titus, and as the Epistles were written during the continuation of his Eastern journey, the probable order seems to be
      I Tim., ca. 64–65;
      Tit., ca. 65–66. Cf. St. Paul's Chronology.
4. *The place of composition* of the pastoral letters, with the exception of II Tim., is doubtful.
   a) For I Tim., Cod. A and some MSS.

mention *Laodicea;* a later tradition names *Athens* or *Nicopolis* or *Rome.*

b) For Titus some MSS. and Jerome (*Prol. ad Tit.*) give *Nicopolis.*

c) II Tim. was written *in Rome during the second captivity of St. Paul.*

IV. **The Authenticity of I Tim.**

1. A number of difficulties, born of comparison with other Pauline Epistles, caused suspicion among critics against I Tim.

a) There are about 74 ἅπαξ λεγόμενα in the Epistle.

b) Favorite Pauline expressions are missing.

c) The earnest admonitions to the always faithful Timothy (I, 18 ff.) were declared out of place if the Epistle was the work of St. Paul.

d) Likewise the emphasis on Paul's apostolate (I, 11 f.), Timothy knowing his master well enough.

e) The organization of the Church is supposed to demonstrate a later date.

f) Likewise the peculiar Gnostic heresies.

g) A series of ideas, like δικαιοσύνη, the angelology, the notion of Spirit, of Christ as mediator, of πίστις, etc., is declared to be un-Pauline.

h) Also the correctness and smoothness of the style and the absence of impul-

sive outbursts have been adduced against the Pauline authorship of this Epistle.

i) It is claimed that the Acts allow no room for the composition of the Pastoral Epistles.

2. Therefore the Pauline authorship was

a) either utterly *denied* (Schleiermacher, Schmidt, Baur, Schwegler, Hilgenfeld, Mangold, Weizsäcker, Jülicher, Heinrici, Holtzmann, Wrede, etc.);

b) or *partly disputed* (Beyschlag, Renan, Sabatier, Harnack, von Soden, Clemen, etc.).

α) Some assumed an *original letter* with additions,

β) others *two original epistles combined* into one.

c) Or the convenient theory is re-introduced, of a "*Paulinist*" who composed the Epistle from genuine sources. Others even suspect interpolations (*e.g.*, VI, 17–21; III, 1–13; V, 17–20, etc);

d) concerning the supposed *author critics disagree;* some mention Timothy himself or Titus (Grau, etc.), some Luke (James) and hold that the Epistle is not of Pauline origin, but at most a treatise going under the Apostle's name.

3. All the *peculiarities* of the Epistle, however,

do *not furnish one solid argument against its Pauline authorship.* The difficulties can be cleared up:

a) by admitting the activity of Paul after the first Roman captivity;

b) if the possibility of *development* in Paul's thoughts as well as in the Christian communities is taken for granted;

c) if the peculiarities are not artificially exaggerated;

d) if the situation of the youthful Timothy is duly appreciated.

4. Moreover, *internal* and *external evidence* corroborates the thesis of St. Paul's authorship.

a) *Internal* evidence: The Pauline *anacolutha, e.g.,* I, 3; the Pauline *doxologies,* I, 17, etc.; the Pauline *emphasis* on the *apostolate,* etc.

b) *External* evidence: The Epistle is quoted by *Clement of Rome, Ad Cor.,* XXIX, 1; *Ignatius, Ad Magn.,* VIII, *Smyrn.,* X, etc.; *Polycarp, Ad Phil.,* IV, 1; *Theophilus of Ant., Ad Autol.,* III, 14. It is ascribed directly to Paul by: *Clement of Alex., Strom.,* II, 11, 52; *Tertullian, C. Marc.,* V, 21, etc.; *Irenaeus, Haer.,* II, 14, 7, etc.; the *Muratorian Canon; Eusebius, H.E.,* III, 3, 5.

5. Therefore the Epistle is still recognized as authentic by many Protestant (Hort, B. Weiss, Zahn), as well as by all Catholic critics although glosses and interpolations are assumed by some (Wohlenberg, Barth, Deissmann, Gregory, etc.).

V. Special Problems of the Epistle.

1. *What are the* ἀντιθέσεις τῆς ψευδωνύμου γνώσεως, *VI, 20?* Harnack regards VI, 17 f., as a later addition harking back to the Gnosticism of Marcion.

Literature: Lütgert, *Die Irrlehrer der Pastoralbriefe,* 1906.

2. *What are the* μῦθοι καὶ γενεαλογίαι, *I, 4?*

Literature: Lütgert, *l.c.;* Colson, *Myths and Genealogies, JthSt.,* 1917. *Kittel, Zntl W,* 1921.

3. *The style and vocabulary of the Epistle.*

Literature: Jacquier, *Histoire des Livres du N. T.*

4. Is the *ecclesiastical organization* mentioned in the Epistle (ἐπίσκοπος, etc.) incompatible with Paul's idea of the χαρίσματα?

Literature: Lightfoot, *The Christian Ministry,* in *Com. on Phil.*

5. *Is the Epistle's angelology un-Pauline?*

Literature: Debelius, *Die Geisterwelt im Glauben des Paulus,* 1909.

6. Is the Epistle's teaching about the *Spirit un-Pauline?*
7. Is the notion of *Christ as mediator,* I Tim. II, 5, un-Pauline?
8. Is the rigoristic attitude toward the *second marriage* of widows, I Tim. V, 9, un-Pauline?
9. Is the notion of πίστις in the Epistle un-Pauline and indicative of a later date?
10. Is the notion of δικαιοσύνη, I Tim. VI, 11, un-Pauline?
11. Is the attitude toward the *Antinomians,* I Tim. I, 8 ff., un-Pauline?
12. Is the idea of *God as* σωτήρ in I Tim. un-Pauline?
13. What about the marriage of the ἐπίσκοπος, I Tim. III, 2?

VI. **Decisions of the Biblical Commission concerning the Pastoral Epistles, June 12, 1913.**

1. The authenticity of the Epistles is established by tradition.
2. This traditional testimony is not disproved
   a) by the "theory of fragments" applied to the Epistles;
   b) nor by the objections concerning the style, the Gnostic character of the heresies, or the hierarchical order mentioned in the Epistles.
3. The date of composition is between the end of the first Roman captivity and the death of St. Paul.

B. The Epistle to Titus

LITERATURE

Cf. above: The Pastoral Epistles.

I. Contents of the Epistle.

Introduction, I, 1–4: Salutation.

1. *Instruction for the organization of the Church,* I, 5–16. Presbyters of good repute must be appointed in Crete to counteract the Judaistic heresies.
2. *Instruction for the different classes in the Church,* II, 1–III, 11.
   a) Instruction for all the members of the community, esp. the slaves, II, 1–15.
   b) All are regenerated by the Holy Ghost, III, 1–8.
   c) Warning against the γενεαλογίαι and other heresies, as in I Tim., III, 9–11.

Conclusion, III, 12–15: Invitation to Titus to visit Paul in *Nicopolis.* Salutation.

II. The Occasion and Purpose of the Epistle.

1. *Titus,* probably a native of Antioch, was of pagan-Christian parentage. He was converted by Paul and never became a proselyte by circumcision (Gal. II, 3). He accompanied Paul and Barnabas to the Council of Jerusalem (Acts XV, 2), was twice the messenger of Paul to Corinth on the third mis-

sionary journey. After the first Roman captivity he went with the Apostle to Crete, where he was appointed bishop, Tit. I, 5. The surprising news in II Tim. IV, 10, of Titus' journey to Dalmatia gave rise to various theories about the reason for it. He probably was sent by Paul himself.

2. The *historical* environment of Tit. is about the same as for I Tim.

a) We hear of *heresies of the same character:* of "genealogies" and anti-nomistic differences: μωρὰς δὲ ζητήσεις καὶ γενεαλογίας καὶ ἔριν καὶ μάχας νομικάς (III, 9) of the μῦθοι Ἰουδαϊκοί (I, 14); the heretics are mostly Jews: μάλιστα οἱ ἐκ τῆς περιτομῆς (I, 10).

St. Paul gives the necessary directions how to meet these enemies of the Gospel (III, 9–11; I, 13–14, etc.).

b) We also find the same *progress in the organization of the Church, i.e.,* the beginnings of a hierarchy (I, 5).

III. **Place and Date of Composition.**

1. The Epistle was written on Paul's *Eastern journey* after his first Roman captivity, about 65–66. Cf. I Tim. under the same chapter.

2. Critics who deny the Pauline authorship postpone its date, like that of I Tim. inspite of evident traces in the earliest Christian literature *e.g.,* Clement of Rome, Ignatius, Polycarp.

IV. The Authenticity of the Epistle.

1. Since Tit. is open to essentially the same objections as I Tim. (heresies of peculiar character, ecclesiastical hierarchy, vocabulary, style, doctrines supposed to be different from those of the other Pauline Epistles, the Acts leaving no room for its composition during the period reported), its *authenticity is denied* by practically *the same critics* who dispute that of I Tim.
2. They explain Tit. either as an enlargement of an *original Pauline note* by a later *Paulinist* (McGiffert), or as the *elucubration* of one who used an old tradition, perhaps preserved in III, 12 f., about Titus' life-work (Ewald).
3. But *internal and external evidence* again declare for Paul:
   a) *Internal* evidence: the greetings, I, 1 ff.; emphasis on the apostolate, I, 3, and on the duties towards authority, III, 1; the utterances about law and grace, III, 5, etc., are typically Pauline.
   b) *External* evidence: the *same authorities* which guarantee the Pauline authorship of I Tim. favor that of Tit. (Clement of Rome, Polycarp, Ignatius, Justin, Theophilus of Ant., Irenaeus, Tertullian, Clement of Alex., the Muratorian Canon, etc.).

V. **Special Problems of the Epistle.**

The problems parallel those of I Tim.:

1) the character of the heresies referred to;
2) the style and vocabulary;
3) the ecclesiastical organization;
4) the seeming differences in some ideas and doctrines.

VI. **The Decisions of the Biblical Commission,** June 12, 1913, concerning the Pastoral Epistles. Cf. I Tim.

C. The Second Epistle to Timothy

LITERATURE

Cf. above: The Pastoral Epistles.

I. **Contents of the Epistle.**

Introduction, I, 1–5: Salutation and thanksgiving.

1. The *sorrows and hopes* of pastoral work, I, 6–II, 13.
2. *Warning against heresies* during the tribulations of the "last days," II, 14–III, 9 (esp. against the errors of Hymenaeus and Philetus concerning the resurrection, II, 18).
3. *Instruction to combat the heresies,* III, 10–IV, 5.
   1) By the γραφὴ θεόπνευστος (III, 16);
   2) and faithful work as εὐαγγελιστής (IV, 5).

4. *Personal remarks* on Paul's captivity, IV, 6–18. The Apostle expects his death.

Conclusion, IV, 19–22: Invitation to Timothy and salutations.

II. **Occasion and Purpose of the Epistle.**

1. The *Neronian persecution has broken out.* St. Paul is in a cruel and hopeless captivity (II Tim. I, 8, 16; IV, 6–8), abandoned by all, only Luke staying with him (II Tim. IV, 11). *Worry concerning the Church of Timothy,* his ἀγαπητὸν τέκνον (II Tim. I, 1) cause him to write this letter, his "last will."
2. St. Paul's sorrows are twofold:
   a) the persecution has begun and he is one of the victims;
   b) he grieves the more as he realizes the danger to his life-work in Ephesus, accruing from heresies, esp. that regarding the resurrection (II Tim. II, 18).

III. **Place and Date of Composition.**

1. The Epistle is written during the second *Roman captivity,* shortly before the Apostle's death, *i.e.,* about 66. Cf. I Tim. under the same chapter.
2. Critics who deny the Pauline authorship, regard this Epistle as the first of the Pastoral

Epistles because of the supposedly *less advanced* state of the community.

IV. **The Authenticity of the Epistle.**

1. The *peculiarities* of the Epistle, similar to those of I Tim. and Tit. (cf. above), led one school of critics to deny the Pauline authorship.
2. But since there are "erratic blocks," which seem to preserve genuine Pauline material, like II Tim. I, 15–18; III, 10–12; IV, 6(9)–22, a number of "*reconstruction theories*" came into vogue, accepting these passages in the main as authentic and rejecting the rest as later additions. (McGiffert, Bacon, von Soden, Hausrath, Clemen, Hilgenfeld, etc.)
3. But *internal* and *external* evidence clearly *proves St. Paul's authorship.*
   a) *Internal* evidence: Besides the evidently Pauline features of I, 15–18; III, 10–12; also IV, 6–22, the thanksgiving, I, 5; the relation of grace and works, I, 9; the emphasis on the Apostolic mission, I, 11; the doctrine about the Spirit, I, 14; about Christ, II, 8, etc., are absolutely Pauline and the natural unity of the Epistles does *not admit of dismemberment.*
   b) *External* evidence: The same witnesses

are to be mentioned as for I Tim. and Titus.

V. **Special Problems of the Epistle.**

1. The activity of Titus in Dalmatia, IV, 10.
2. The questions connected with the Pastoral Epistles in general. Cf. I Tim.

VI. **The Decisions of the Biblical Commission, June 12, 1913.**
Cf. I Tim.

D. The Authenticity of the Pastoral Epistles

LITERATURE

James, *The Genuineness and Authorship of the Pastoral Epistles,* 1906.
Maier, *Die Hauptprobleme der Pastoralbriefe Pauli,* 1910.

1. The linguistic and stylistic peculiarities of the Pastoral Epistles as compared with the other Pauline Epistles can be *explained by the differences of time, circumstances, topics, and readers;* they are interwoven with *characteristically Pauline forms and expressions.*
2. Of the ideas expounded in the Epistles, the word of *Origen* on Hebrews holds true: τὰ νοήματα τοῦ ἀποστόλου ἐστίν (Euseb., *H.E.,* VI, 25, 13). The hierarchical organization is mentioned also Phil. I, 1; Acts XIV, 23; XX, 17.
3. The *heresies* enumerated *need not,* by any critical

standard, be *identical with the Gnosticism of the second century,* although they represent the beginnings.

4. If the Pastoral Epistles demand *an activity of Paul after the first Roman imprisonment,* this is not repugnant to the evidence of Acts, since these are silent from the first captivity onward.
5. *If* the Pastoral Epistles are *forgeries, why* did the forger *not* use an exclusively *Pauline vocabulary,* which was available to him, or why does *tradition* not know anything about it?
6. The *fragment- and reconstruction-theories* assert an impossibly close acquaintance with the historical development of portions of the text. *Qui nimis probat, nihil probat.* Besides, their argumentation is based on sentiment, not on facts.

CHAPTER XI

THE CATHOLIC EPISTLES

LITERATURE

CAMERLYNCK, *Commentarius in Epistolas Catholicas,* 1909.
CALMES, *Epîtres catholiques,* 1905.
GLOAG, *Introduction to the Catholic Epistles,* 1887.

1. The title "*Catholic Epistles*" includes 7 Epistles: James, Jude, I and II Peter, and I, II, and III John. They may be divided into *three major* Epistles: James, I Peter, and I John, and: *four minor* Epistles: Jude, II Peter, and II and III John.

2. The *name* καθολική ἐπιστολή is very ancient and had been used by Apollonius (about 197); cf. Euseb., *H.E.,* V, 18, 5. As a *title for the collection* of the 7 Epistles it was used for the first time by *Eusebius, H.E.,* II, 23, 25.

3. The *meaning of the name* is controverted:
   a) It is often taken as synonymous with "canonical," because the Epistles in the old Church were frequently called "*epistolae canonicae*" (*e.g.,* by a Synod held in Rome A.D. 382).
   b) But this cannot be the meaning, some of the Epistles not having a canonical standing in every church, as reported by Eusebius,

c) Hence καθολική is to be taken in its *proper sense* of "*universal*," *i.e.*, the Epistles were *not addressed to single communities or persons*, but to a wider circle of readers (except II and III John, which were combined with I John as καθολικαί merely because of the author's identity).

4. The *canonicity* of the Catholic Epistles opens a *difficult question*, for the minor Epistles were not universally accepted as part of the canon from the beginning. Cf. Canon of the N. T.

5. Their arrangement in the N. T. canon is not uniform. In the *Canon of Trent* and the Vulgate the Epistles are placed behind the *Corpus Paulinum*.

A. The Epistle of St. James

LITERATURE

Mayor, *The Epistle of St. James*, 1910.
Knowling, *The Epistle of St. James*, 1904.
Parry, *A Discussion of the General Epistle of St. James*, 1903.
Meinertz, *Der Jakobusbrief und sein Verfasser in Schrift und Überlieferung*, 1905.
Belser, *Die Epistel des Jakobus*, 1909.
Spitta, *Der Brief des Jakobus*, 1896.

I. Contents of the Epistle.

Introduction, I, 1: Salutation.

The *Treatise*, I, 2–V, 18: Instructions for the *practical Christian life* of converts:

1) Admonition to *firmness in resisting temptation* (πειρασμός) I, 2–18. (I, 6: this "firmness in faith" was called by Luther "the best thing in the Epistle.")

2) Emphasis on a life according to *faith not in words,* but in works, I, 19–27 (οὐκ ἀκροαταὶ . . . ἀλλὰ ποιηταὶ λόγου). Faith without works is dead, II, 1–26 (πίστις, ἐὰν μὴ ἔχῃ ἔργα, νεκρά ἐστιν καθ' ἑαυτήν, II, 18).

3) Warning against the abuse of *speech,* III, 1–12.

4) Contrast between the σοφία ἄνωθεν κατερχομένη and the σοφία ἐπίγειος (III, 15), III, 13–18.

5) Warning against *covetousness,* IV, 1–V, 6.

6) Exhortation to *patience,* V, 7–11 (reference to the παρουσία, V, 8: παρουσία ἤγγικεν).

7) Exhortation to *prayer,* V, 12–18.

(*The unction and prayers for the sick.* V, 13–18.)

Conclusion V, 19–20: Admonition to save one's brother's soul.

The Epistle may be *summed up* in the words: πειρασμός, πίστις, σοφία, εὐχή.

II. The Author and Authenticity of the Epistle.

1. The *identity* of the author. The author calls himself Ἰάκωβος.

The N. T. knows four James's:

(1) James, the "brother" of the Lord. Gal. I, 19: ἀδελφὸς τοῦ Κυρίου;

(2) James the Less, Mark XV, 40: Ἰάκωβος ὁ Μικρός;

(3) James, the son of Zebedee, Matth. X, 3 and XXVII, 56: υἱὸς Ζεβεδαίου;

(4) James, the son of Alphaeus, Matth. X, 3: Ἰάκωβος ὁ τοῦ Ἀλφαίου.

The question is whether James, "the brother of the Lord," and "the Less," and "the son of Alphaeus" are one and the same person or several persons.

a) According to Gal. I, 19, "the brother of the Lord" is an *Apostle*. According to Matth. X, 2–5 (Mark III, 14–19; Luke VI, 13–16) there are *only two Apostles* by the name of James, the son of Zebedee and the son of Alphaeus. Acts XII, 2, narrates the death of the son of Zebedee as early as the forties. Hence the *James of Gal. I, 19, is the son of Alphaeus* and identical with the *"brother of the Lord."*

b) According to Mark XV, 40, James "the Less" is the son of Mary, the wife of Κλωπᾶς (John XIX, 25) = חַלְפַּי = Ἀλφαῖος. Hence *James "the Less"* is *identical with the "son of Alphaeus"* and *"the brother of the Lord."*

c) This identification is confirmed by *tradition,* Clement of Alex., Origen, Athanasius, Cyril of Jerus., Jerome, Augustine.

This James, the "son of Alphaeus," or "the Less," or the "brother of the Lord," must be the Ἰάκωβος *mentioned in James I, 1* (James, the son of Zebedee, being dead).

d) James, the son of Alphaeus, was an authority of the highest standing in the Church of Jerusalem, one of the "Pillars," Gal. II, 9; bishop of Jerusalem, Gal. I, 19; the author of the famous "*clausulae Jacobi,*" Acts XV, 13–21. According to Hegesippus (Euseb., *H.E.,* II, 23) he was hurled from the pinnacle of the temple. Josephus (*Antiqu.,* XX, 9, 1) reports that he died as a martyr between the death of Festus (c. 62) and the arrival of Albinus, the new procurator of Cesarea, *i.e.,* c. 62–63.

2. The *authenticity of the Epistle.*

a) The critics who *deny* the authenticity give as reason:

α) that the Epistle with its absence of doctrinal polemics points to a later time when the *reconciliation* between Judaism and Pa-

ganism had already taken place (Jülicher, von Soden, Moffatt, Harnack, etc.);

β) that a *Jew of James' education* could *not write* such a fluent Greek style, nor show such a close acquaintance with the LXX and the Stoic philosophy;

γ) that the author does not insist on the O. T. Law and O. T. institutions (circumcision), as James would have done;

δ) that the author *depends on I Peter,* which is written after James' death;

ε) that the appeal of the letter is *too universal* for a Jew with the particularism of James.

b) They therefore invented a great number of *theories:*

α) of a *pseudonymous* author, a theory known as early as Jerome's time, *Vir. Ill., 2*: "*ab alio quodam sub nomine ejus edita asseritur*" (Cf. Jülicher, Davidson, Grafe, etc.);

β) of another *James* who is *not the Apostle;* this theory was held as early as the days of Erasmus (Pfleiderer, etc.);

γ) of an *original authentic note* of James with *later accretions;*

δ) of an *anti-Pauline Ebionitic essay,* not by James, but by a later author;

ε) of an *original Logia-collection* with additions by James;

ζ) of a treatise by a *Jewish-Hellenic writer,* which found approbation later;

η) of an *original homily,* written in the form of an Epistle (Deissmann);

θ) of an *originally spoken homily* by James (Feine);

ι) of an *originally Aramaic homily* of James, translated into Greek by one of the audience;

κ) of a *collection of different counsels;*

λ) of *manifold interpolations:*

I, 1, is an addition of the early Church (Harnack, Bacon, McGiffert);

III, 1–18, is an essay by an Alexandrian Hellenist (v. Soden);

IV, 1–10; IV, 11–V, 6, are interpolations (v. Soden). Finally the text is claimed to be in many cases corrupt and

words and passages are held to be misplaced.

These *theories by their very variety betray uncertainty* and *subjectivity.*

c) These voices to the contrary notwithstanding, the *authenticity* is solidly guaranteed by *internal* and *external* evidence.

Internal evidence.

α) Underneath his well-written Greek the author betrays by *numerous Semiticisms* that Greek was not his mother tongue, so much so that some critics (Wordsworth, Barth) have surmised an Aramaic original.

Finally, on principle, the possibility of a respectable acquaintance with Greek cannot be denied to James.

β) The *absence of polemics,* when explained by the late date of the reconciliation of Judaism and paganism, leaves the other, more probable, possibility that the opposition between the two had not yet really become acute for the readers.

γ) The *dearth of references to the O. T.* is exaggerated, for the author draws abundantly on

O. T. literature, esp. on Proverbs and Wisdom. However, it remains surprising that circumcision is not discussed.

δ) The points of *contact between I Peter and James* can be explained by assuming that Peter depended on James, not *vice versa*.

ε) The "universality" of the Epistle is not intrinsic, for it deals with universal human virtues and vices; it is quite distinct from the characteristic *Pauline universality* of the Gospel.

External evidence shows that the Epistle had a fate similar to that of Hebrews.

α) The Epistle is *missing* in the Muratorian Canon, it is unknown to the early Syrian Church, which originally had no Catholic Epistles at all, and is placed by Eusebius among the *Antilegomena* (*H.E.*, III, 25, 3), albeit he himself recognized it.

β) But the Epistle is *known* to *Clement of Rome, Ad Cor.*, X, 1; *Pastor Hermae, Mand.*, IX, 1; *Justin, Dial.*, XLIX; *Theophilus, Ad. Autol.*, I, 2;

Irenaeus, Haer., IV, 16, 2; *Tertullian, Adv. Jud.*, II; *Origen, Hom. in Gen.*, XIII, 2, quoting from the "*Apostle*" James; *Clement of Alex.* (Euseb., *H. E.*, VI, 14. 2); *Cyril of Jerus., Cat.*, IV, 33. etc.

γ) After its acceptance by the *universal Church* it was recognized as authentic until Erasmus and Cajetan doubted it and Luther dubbed it the "Epistle of Straw."

III. Occasion and Purpose of the Epistle.

1. The Epistle is written to the "*twelve tribes in the dispersion*" (I,1), to *Jewish Christians*, as appears from the perfect acquaintance with the O. T. history presupposed in the readers (II, 11, 21, 23; V, 11, 17, etc.); to *converted* Jews, since it does not purpose to establish faith, but to *warn* and strengthen the faithful. V, 14 f. contains the famous counsel for the sick, *to summon the priests of the Church.* The objective of James contrasts therefore with Paul's, who usually has to meet objections of *unconverted* Jews.

2. The "*dispersion*" can be explained

a) literally, as meaning Jews living outside of Palestine;

b) or in a figurative sense, as meaning *con-*

verted Jews in Palestine, dispersed among the unconverted;

c) In forming a decision it is to be remembered that the Epistle is addressed to a *homogeneous* audience living in scattered communities, which seems to be verified only in *Palestine and adjacent countries.*

3. The Epistle seems to be inspired solely by its readers' craving for *pastoral instruction.* No other inference can be drawn from the contents. *No heresies* are dealt with, but the need of direction in firmly resisting the πειρασμός is felt; hence the πίστις must be endued with life by works; the true σοφία, *i.e.,* the wisdom of Christian life, must be observed, and the use of the εὐχή is insisted upon.

4. Since Paul defines *his* πίστις in refutation of *unconverted* Jews who insisted on the O. T. ἔργα, while James addresses *converted* Jewish Christians, the different shade in their respective conceptions of πίστις is quite natural. There is then no sufficient reason for beholding in James' Epistle a correction of misunderstandings of the Pauline πίστις, etc., among the readers, as is often claimed by modern scholars (Kaulen, Cornely, Schanz, Trenkle, Bartmann). Nor is there any proof for such a misconception of Paul by James himself (Jülicher).

IV. Date and Place of Composition.

1. *Terminus ad quem.*

a) James being the author of the Epistle, its date *cannot be* fixed *later* than 62–63, the date of the Apostle's death.

b) Internal reasons point to a time before 60.

α) There are *no polemics* against any heresy, Judaistic or Gnostic, as in Paul's Epistles. The conclusion is, in the light of the authorship of James, that heresies had not yet developed (Zahn, Mayor, B. Weiss, Alford, Salmon, Camerlynck, Belser, Meinertz).

β) The author had *no knowledge of the Synoptic Gospels;* no trace of them can be found in his Epistle.

γ) *Neither does he depend on Paul,* although Paul (Rom., Gal., Hebr.) shows parallels to James. Whatever agreement there is can be traced to the common source of both, *i.e.,* the Old Testament. Cf. esp. James II, 21. A dependence of James on Paul is asserted by Cornely, Sabatier, Trenkle, Farrar, etc.

c) The critics who deny the authorship of James and make the Epistle dependent on I Peter must accept as *terminus ad quem Clement of Rome,* who *quotes* the Epistle (Hilgenfeld, McGiffert, von Soden, Bacon, etc.).

d) Those who date the Epistle beyond 100 A.D. leave the solid ground of history (Jülicher, Peake, Wrede, etc.).

2. The *terminus a quo* is difficult to fix.

a) The Epistle was not written in the early times of religious fervor, but at a date when religious zeal had begun to slacken; hence hardly before 50 A.D.

b) The Epistle supposes, on the other hand, that the conversion of Palestine and contiguous countries had progressed so far that there existed large districts of *homogeneous* readers, which would argue a date not before 50 A.D.

Thus we have to place the date of the document between 50 and 62–63, and it is not possible to be more precise.

3. The *place of composition* naturally would be Jerusalem, the see of James.

V. Special Problems of the Epistle.

1. The *identity* of the *author.*

Literature: Meinertz, *Der Jakobusbrief und sein Verfasser.*

2. The *brothers of Jesus.*

According to Matth. XIII, 55–56; cf. Mark XV, 40, 47; VI, 3, etc., the Apostle James, Joseph, Jude, and Simon, were "brothers" of Christ. This gave rise to the Protestant theory of natural brothers of Jesus (Zahn).

Literature: LAGRANGE, *L'Évangile selon S. Marc;* FOUARD, *The Christ, the Son of God,* I, Appendix.

3. The *relation* of the Epistle *to the Pauline literature* and *doctrine.*

Literature: MEINERTZ, *Der Jakobusbrief.*

4. The *supposed relation* of the Epistle *to Stoic philosophy.*

Literature: BONHÖFFER, *Epiktet und das N. T.*

5. The *readers,* "The twelve tribes in the dispersion," I, 1. Does this phrase mean the Christian community in general (Moffatt, Spitta) or Jewish Christians?

Cf. LOWRIE, *The Epistle of James, to Whom Addressed? Princeton Theol. Review,* 1918.

6. *The Anointing of the sick.* Cf. WILSON, *Princeton Theol. Review, 1921.*

B. The Epistle of Jude

LITERATURE

MAYOR, *The Epistle of St. Jude and the Second Epistle of St. Peter,* 1907.

BIGG, *Commentary on the Epistles of Peter and Jude,* 1907.

SPITTA, *Der zweite Brief Petri und der Brief des Judas,* 1885.

GHEORGHIU, *Der Brief des Judas*, 1901.
MAIER, *Der Judasbrief*, 1906.

I. Contents of the Epistle.

Introduction, verses 1–2: Salutations.
Treatise:

1) Warning against heretics who deny "the Lord Jesus Christ" (κύριον ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦν Χριστὸν ἀρνούμενοι), vv. 3–4.
2) Description of the punishment for unbelievers (the μὴ πιστεύσαντες) by biblical and non-biblical (Henoch) testimonies, vv. 5–16.
3) Exhortation to firmness in πίστις (v. 20), resisting the seducers of the ἔσχατος ὁ χρόνος (v. 18), vv. 17–24.

Conclusion, v. 25; doxology.

II. The Author and Authenticity.

1. The *author,* Jude, with the surname Thaddeus (Matth. X, 3,), calls himself (v. 1,) the "brother of James" (cf. Matth. XIII, 55). As there is no objective reason to doubt the genuineness of this bit of autobiography (Harnack), any other Judas, like the Judas of Acts IX, 11, or Acts XV, 22, is excluded. He is also one of the "brothers of the Lord" (Matth. XIII, 55), and one of the Apostles, albeit he does not mention his apostleship. Thus *Tertullian, De Cult. Fem.,* I, 3: *"Apud Judam apostolum";*

Origen, Ep. ad Rom., V, 1: "*Apostolus Judas dicit*"; *Epiphanius, Haer.*, XXV, 11. V. 17 does not contain an argument against this interpretation.

2. According to a *later tradition* Jude labored in Syria. *Hegesippus* tells of two grandchildren of Jude who were accused before Emperor Domitian, but acquitted (Euseb., *H.E.*, III, 20, 1).

3. The *authorship of the Epistle.*
   a) It is denied by critics because of the *anti-Gnostic* character of the Epistle, which is supposed to demand a later date, and Jude is replaced either
      α) by the theory of a *pseudonymous* Jude (Pfleiderer, Jülicher, etc.), or
      β) by the theory of an *unknown* Jude; which would make of v. 1, ἀδελφὸς Ἰακώβου, a later interpolation (Harnack, McGiffert, Bacon, etc.).
   b) But these theories cannot outweigh the sober facts of the unquestionable *text:* ἀδελφὸς Ἰακώβου, v. 1, and of *tradition:*
      α) II Peter presupposes and uses Jude (cf. esp. II chap. of II Peter), as is recognized by a number of scholars, *e.g.*, Hug, Kaulen, Salmon, Cornely, Ewald, B. Weiss, von Soden, Jülicher, Harnack, Belser, Mayor, Maier, Holtzmann, etc.

II Peter II, 5–7, adduces two more examples than Jude for salvation (Noe, Lot) and there is greater likelihood of an addition than of an omission in such a case.

II Peter II, 4 ff., reports in chronological order what is mentioned in Jude vv. 5–7. But system and order point to a later period.

For the priority of II Peter are: Luther, Döllinger, Spitta, Bigg, etc.

β) Although the Epistle is *missing* in the early *Syriac Church* and in *Cyprian,* and is ranked by *Eusebius* (*H.E.,* II, 23) among the Antilegomena,

it is *mentioned* in the *Didache,* II, 7; *Pastor Hermae,* Sim., V, 7; and the Muratorian Canon;

and *quoted* as the Epistle of the Apostle Jude by *Tertullian, De Cult. Fem.,* I, 3; *Clement of Alex.* (Euseb., *H.E.,* VI, 14, 1); *Origen* in many places (cf. *In Matth.* XIII, 27). Since *Eusebius* (cf. H.E., II, 23, 25) its authenticity is generally acknowledged, *e.g.,* by *Cyril of Jerus., Gregory Naz., Epiphanius,* etc.

Thus the early recognition is warranted by positive historical testimony which cannot be nullified by subjective theories.

III. **The Occasion and Purpose of the Epistle.**

1. The *readers.*
   a) They are evidently *Jewish Christians,* since they are supposed to be well acquainted with the O. T. history and the O. T. apocalyptic literature (cf. vv. 5, 6, 7, 9, 14).
   b) Since the author insists on his *relation to the Apostle James* (v. 1), the latter must have enjoyed *great authority* with his readers.
   c) It is therefore *reasonable* to conclude that the readers must belong to the *district of James, i.e., Palestine* and neighborhood. Verse 17 points to the place where the "Apostle" James was active (cf. DeWette).
   d) The same probability cannot be accorded to the hypothesis of *Egypt* (Mangold), or *Asia Minor* (von Soden), or to the theory of *Deissmann* that Jude is a treatise in epistolary form, addressed to *ideal readers.*
2. What were the *heresies* existing amongst the readers cannot be defined with accuracy. But the Epistle supposes:
   a) *sexual abuses,* v. 7, 8, etc.;
   b) *pseudo-prophets,* like Balaam, v. 10, 11;
   c) *antinomian tendencies,* v. 10 f.;
   d) perhaps some kind of rudimentary *Gnos-*

ticism, v. 19: ψυχικοί, πνεῦμα μὴ ἔχοντες (Harnack, Pfleiderer, Holtzmann). But the expression may also refer simply to a life according to fallen nature (Meinertz);

e) the *denial of the "Lord" and the "glories,"* v. 8; an obscure expression which might refer to the Jewish doctrine of the angels, but also to the glory of Christ after His suffering (like I Peter I, 11).

3. There are many *theories* about these heresies: some refer them to the Carpocratians; some to the Cainites; others to the Sodomites; others again to the Nicolaitans; or to Cerinthus; or to Simon Magus and his followers (cf. Acts VIII, 9). Iren., *Haer.,* I, 25, says that the latter scoffed at the angels, which would agree with v. 8, if the δόξαι are to be understood as angels.

4. Since the outlines of the heresies referred to by Jude are vague and indefinite, there is *no possibility of identifying* them with the *elaborate system of the later Gnostics.*

IV. Date and Place of Composition.

1. The *terminus a quo* is 62–63, the death of James. Under the most probable supposition that Jude is addressed to the readers of James, there is no need of Jude's Epistle during James' lifetime.

2. The *terminus ad quem* is 66, for at the beginning of the Jewish war (67) the situation of the Jewish Christians could hardly have been as described in Jude.

The Epistle was certainly not written after 70; the author in describing the punishments inflicted upon the evil-doers would certainly not have omitted the great disaster of the fall of Jerusalem.

Thus Maier, Bigg, Georghiu, Kaulen, Trenkle, Gutjahr, Belser, etc.

3. The supposition of an elaborate Gnostic system attacked in the Epistle leads to many arbitrary theories concerning the time: c. 70–75: Zahn, Mayor, etc.; c. 80: Spitta, Ewald (von Soden), etc.; c. 100–125: Harnack, McGiffert, Jülicher, etc.; c. 140: Völter, Volkmar, Davidson, etc.

V. Special Problems of the Epistle.

1. The *readers* of the Epistle.

Literature: Mayor, *Epistle of Jude.*

2. The *author* of the Epistle.

Literature: Mayor, *op. cit.*

3. Does ψυχικοί, πνεῦμα μὴ ἔχοντες, v. 19, refer to Gnosticism?

4. Are the δόξαι, v. 8, angelic powers or evil spirits?

Literature: Sickenberger, *Engels- oder Teufelslästerer, Festschrift der Universität Breslau,* 1911.

5. The *relation* between *Jude* and *II Peter.*

Literature: Moffatt, *History of the Literature of the N. T.;* Schwienhorst, *Das Verhältniss des Jud. zu 2 Petr.,* 1904.

C. The I Epistle of St. Peter

LITERATURE

Johnstone, *The First Epistle of Peter,* 1888.
Bigg, *The Epistles of St. Peter and St. Jude,* 1901.
Monnier, *La Première Épître de l'Apôtre Pierre,* 1900.
Hort, *The First Epistle of St. Peter,* 1898.
Kögel, *Die Gedankeneinheit des I Briefes Petri,* 1902.
Wohlenberg, *Der erste und zweite Petrusbrief und der Judasbrief,* 1915.
Perdelwitz, *Die Mysterienreligionen und das Problem des I Petrusbriefes,* 1911.

I. Contents of the Epistle.

Introduction, I, 1–2: Salutations.
Treatise:
1) Thanksgiving to God for the grace of salvation, I, 3–13.
2) Admonition to lead a Christian life, I, 13–V, 9. In detail as regards the duties
a) of subjects toward the emperor, II, 13–17;
b) of slaves toward their masters, II, 18–25;
c) of wives and husbands, III, 1–7;

d) of mutual charity, III, 8–12;
e) of patience in tribulation, III, 13–IV, 19;
f) of faithfulness on the part of the πρεσβύτεροι, V, 1–4;
g) of humility of the νεώτεροι, V, 5–9.

3) Solemn blessing and doxology, V, 10–11.
4) Personal remarks, V, 12–13.

Conclusion, V, 14: Salutations.

II. The Author and Authenticity.

1. The *author,* according to I Peter I, 1–2, and V, 12–14, is the Apostle Peter. His history is well known from the N. T. sources.

a) *Simon,* bar Jona (Matth. XVI, 17), or "son of Joannes" (John I, 42), was a fisherman of Bethsaida, living at the beginning of Christ's ministry in Capharnaum (Matth. VIII, 14). He accompanied John to the Jordan, where he met Jesus (John I, 41), and received the promise of the change of his name into כֵּיפָא = Πέτρος (John I, 42).

b) Thenceforth he followed Christ and became the *princeps* of the Apostles, which is evident especially from
α) the scene at Cesarea Philippi

(Matth. XVI, 17–19) with the great confession and reward of Peter;

β) from John XXI, 15–17, where he receives charge of Christ's sheep after his threefold profession of love (in reference to the threefold negation, Matth. XXVI, 69–75).

c) After the ascension of Christ Peter appears to be the *leader of the Christian community, e.g.,*

α) in the election of Matthias, Acts I, 15–23;

β) during the events of the first Pentecost, Acts II, 14–36;

γ) in the defense of Christianity before the Sanhedrin, Acts IV, 8–12;

δ) in the reception of the first pagan (Cornelius) into the Church, Acts X, 1–XI, 18.

d) His *primacy* is recognized

α) in the Synoptics, where Peter comes first in the enumeration of the Apostles (Luke VI, 14, etc.);

β) in the Acts II, 14, where we read: "Peter and the Eleven";

γ) by Paul when he visited Peter in Jerusalem, Gal. I, 18.

e) During the *persecution by Agrippa I* Peter was sent to prison but freed by the providence of God, Acts XII, 3–17. After that he went εἰς ἕτερον τόπον (Acts XII, 17), by which Jerome, *De Vir. Ill.* I, in his day understood Rome (ab. 42 A.D.).

f) In consequence of the *edict of Claudius* against the Jews Peter probably had to leave Rome; for we find him
   α) at the Council of Jerusalem, Acts XV, 7 ff.
   β) in Antioch, Gal. II, 11 (Dispute with Paul). Probably he was active also in Asia Minor, witness his own expression, I Peter 1, 1.

g) It is to be regarded as certain that St. Peter is the founder of the Christian community in Rome. It can be proved
   α) from I Pet. V, 13;
   β) from Clement of Rome, *Ad Cor.*, V, 4; Ignatius, *Ad Rom.*, IV, 3; Dionysius of Corinth (Euseb., *H.E.*, II, 25, 8); Irenaeus, *Haer.*, III, 1, 1; Tertullian, *De Praescr.*, XXXVI; Clement of Alex. (Euseb., *H.E.*, VI, 14, 6). Cf. also Eusebius, *H.E.*, II, 13–15; Orosius, *Histor.*, VII, 6.

h) According to *tradition* he died in Rome during the Neronian persecution, probably 67 (Duchesne, 64; Kellner, 55).

2. The *authenticity.*

a) *Internal* evidence.

α) I Peter I, 1–2, and V, 12–14, the Apostle Peter mentions himself as the author of the Epistle. It is a sheer act of desparation on behalf of a definite bias to discard this self-testimony as an interpolation (Harnack, etc.).

The statement of I Pet. I, 1–2, is upheld by the contents of the Epistle, which exhibits a witness of Christ's sufferings, I, 8; V, 1.

β) Another confirmation is furnished by the agreement between the Epistle and the Petrine speeches in Acts (*e.g.,* X. 36; II, 24 etc.).

b) *External* evidence.

α) The Epistle is known to *Clement of Rome, Ad Cor.,* LIX, 2; *Diognetus,* IX, 2; *Papias* (Euseb., *H.E.,* III, 39, 17); *Didache* I, 4; *Pastor Hermae, Vis.* IV, 3; *Ignatius, Eph.* V, 2–3. *Polycarp* quotes the

Epistle very frequently without mentioning the author.

β) It is declared expressly to be St. Peter's work by *Tertullian, De Or.,* XX (referring to I Petr. III, 3).; *Clement of Alex., Strom.,* III, 18 etc.; *Irenaeus, Haer.,* IV, 9, 2, etc.

γ) It is absent from the Muratorian Canon, but the Epistle was certainly known at that time as Petrine.

c) *Difficulties raised against the authenticity.*

α) The lack of detailed reference to the life of Christ, which is supposed to militate against the Petrine authorship.

β) The Pauline character of the Epistle, which is particularly evident when compared with Eph., Rom., Gal.

γ) The smoothness and grace of the style, which seems to reveal an accomplished Hellenist.

δ) The sufferings of the readers, IV, 12 f., seem to indicate that the persecution had already begun.

ε) The relation to the Epistle of James.

ζ) The Epistle is said to aim at the later pagan mystery religions.

d) *Theories based on the denial of the authenticity.*

α) The Epistle is originally an *anonymous* homily with I, 1–2; V, 12–14 (the name of Peter) as additions of the second century (Harnack, likewise McGiffert).

β) It is originally a *pseudonymous* Epistle with a series of interpolations (Völter).

γ) It is an *anonymous original* edited by Barnabas (McGiffert).

δ) The Epistle is the *work of John Mark* and a translation from a Hebrew original (Eichhorn).

ε) The Epistle is the *work of Silvanus* long after Peter's death (von Soden, Baljon, Spitta).

e) The *authenticity must be maintained.*

α) I Peter does disclose details about the life of Christ, *e.g.*, I, 8; II, 23 f. If the author does not treat the life of Christ more exhaustively, it is for the evident reason that the facts are assumed to be known.

β) It is no argument against the authenticity that I Peter was acquainted with the Pauline litera-

ture which existed when I Peter was penned. The dependence of Peter on Rom., Gal., Eph., is generally admitted (cf. Davidson, Ewald, Clemen).

γ) The sufferings of the readers do not indicate any persecution inflicting *capita*[1] punishment, much less the later persecutions under Trajan and Hadrian.

δ) The alleged reference to *pagan mysteries* (Perdelwitz) is a random theory.

ε) The relation of I Peter to James does not militate against the authenticity; there is no reason why Peter should not have been acquainted with the Epistle of James.

f) *The difficulty about the style is solved by the Silvanus-hypothesis,* which holds that St. Peter used Silvanus as an amanuensis, the extent of the share of Silvanus in the composition being debatable.

This hypothesis has *great probability,* as it is based on St. Peter's own words, V, 12: "διὰ Σιλουάνου . . . ἔγραψα." It is disputed by Jacquier (cf. Bacon, Zahn, Meinertz, Bigg, Monnier, etc.).

III. **The Occasion and Purpose of the Epistle.**

1. The *readers,* according to I, 1, are "the strangers dispersed through Pontus, Galatia, Cappadocia, Asia, Bythinia, elect." They are *Christian* converts from paganism, as is evident from numerous passages, *e.g.,* I, 14; I, 18; II, 9–10; IV, 3–4, which refer to *former pagan costumes.* According to II, 10, they were "no people of God" before their conversion. This character is generally admitted (cf. Holtzmann, Zahn, Moffatt) and the theory of *Jewish Christians* (DeWette, B. Weiss), or the "*mixed theory*" (Cornely, Jacquier) ought to be abandoned.
2. The word διασπορὰ, originally applied to the *Jews amongst the pagans,* is therefore to be taken in a *figurative sense* for the readers who are now, as Christians, in the same condition of strangers as the Jews once were in the dispersion.
3. The *immediate reasons* for the Epistle:
   a) The readers' πίστις is imperilled, I, 7 f.
   b) There is, besides, danger of relapse, I, 11–12 ff.
   c) They are also in great distress because of unceasing hostilities (calumnies) against them, II, 12 f.; IV, 1–2 ff. (no capital punishment).

d) But there is no trouble between Jews and Gentiles.

e) The authority for this information of St. Peter is probably *Silvanus,* who very likely had joined the Apostle on the third missionary journey of Saint Paul.

IV. Place and Date of Composition.

1. The *place of composition,* according to V, 13, is *Babylon,* which is interpreted as a metaphorical name for Rome (Harnack, Jülicher, and all Catholic authors), because

a) the whole Epistle inclines to figurative language, *e.g.*, I, 1; II, 4, etc.

b) The Apocalypse has the same name for Rome, XIV, 8, etc.

c) Profane writers of the first century also use the expression.

d) *Papias* and *Clement of Alex.* approve this explanation (Euseb., *H.E.,* II, 15, 2).

Hence there is no reason for assuming Babylon in Mesopotamia (B. Weiss, Nösgen, Erbes, Alford, Johnstone); or Babylon in Egypt (Cone, Deissmann); much less Seleucia (Michaelis); or Jerusalem (Semler); or for taking ἐν Βαβυλῶνι συνεκλεκτή as a reference to Peter's wife (Alford, Bigg).

2. *The date.*

a) The *terminus ad quem:* 64. The burning of Rome started July 18th 64 and the Epistle must have been written before this and the following persecution. Expressions like III, 13, II, 13, speak against any such conditions. Thus: Belser, Zahn, Lightfoot, etc.

b) The *terminus a quo:* 63. Before 63 St. Peter can hardly have been again in Rome, at least Paul's captivity letters do not mention him. Hence 63–64 is the date of composition.

c) The *theories* about the *date* are numerous, especially among those who deny the Petrine origin of the Epistle: 64–67: DeWette, Ewald, Farrar, Salmon, Hatch, etc.; 70–80: Briggs, Swete, etc.; beginning of the II cent.: Cone, Jülicher, von Soden, Wrede, McGiffert, Harnack, etc.

V. **Special Problems of the Epistle.**

1. The *Christology* of I Peter.

Literature: Granbery, *Christological Peculiarities in I Peter, Am. Journ. of Theol.,* 1910.

2. The *presence of Peter in Rome.*

Literature: Duchesne, *Histoire Ancienne de l'Église,* 1907; Lietzmann, *Petrus und Paulus in Rom,* 1915.

3. The *relation* of *I Peter* to *James.*

4. The *relation* of *I Peter* to the *Pauline literature.*

Literature: SANDAY, *Romans.*

5. *Babylon, the name for Rome.*

Literature: SALMON, *Introduction.*

6. The *strangers of the dispersion.*
7. *The* χάρις *in I Peter.*
8. *Are the* κακοποιοί, *II, 12–14, magicians?*
9. *Are Pontus, Galatia, Cappadocia, etc., the names of Roman provinces?*
10. The *Silvanus hypothesis.*

Literature: MONNIER, *La Première Épître,* etc.

11. What is the *meaning of* ἀλλοτριεπίσκοπος, IV, 15?
12. The *preaching of Christ to the spirits "in carcere,"* III, 20.

Literature: GSCHWIND, *Die Niederfahrt Christi in die Unterwelt,* 1911; R. HARRIS, *Exp.,* 1901.

13. *Baptism as* ἀντίτυπος *of the flood,* III, 21.

D. The II Epistle of St. Peter.

LITERATURE

MAYOR, *The Epistle of Jude and the Second Epistle of St. Peter,* 1907.

HENKEL, *Der zweite Brief des Apostelfürsten Petrus geprüft auf seine Echtheit,* 1904.

BIGG, cf. above.

I. Contents of the Epistle

Introduction, I, 1–2: Salutations.

Treatise:

1) Admonition to perseverance in the expectation of the Lord's Parousia, I, 3–21.

2) Warning against the ψευδοδιδάσκαλοι, with O. T. examples of their punishment, II, 1–22.

3) Reason for the delay of the Parousia, III, 1–13.

Conclusion, III, 14–18: Reference to Paul's Epistles; doxology.

II. The Author and Authenticity of the Epistle.

This question ranks among the most difficult problems of New Testament literature.

1) The *internal evidence is complicated:*

A. a) The *author calls himself, I, 1, "Simon Peter, servant and Apostle of Jesus Christ";*

b) In I, 16–18, he lays stress on his character as eye-witness of the transfiguration on the "Holy Mount";

c) he shows familiarity with the O. T. history.

B. *But the style is so different from I Peter that Jerome* in his day sought a *solution, De Vir. Ill.,* 1: *"Duae epistolae, quae feruntur Petri, stylo inter se et charactere discrepant structuraque verborum. Ex quo intelligi-*

mus, pro necessitate rerum, diversis eum usum interpretibus."

2) The *external evidence is rather scanty:*

A. *Negative:*

a) *Eusebius* ranks this Epistle among the antilegomena (*H.E.*, III, 25, 3), but distinguishes it from the apocrypha.

b) *Jerome* is aware of the difficulty concerning the author and tries to solve it (see above).

c) *Didymus* uses the Epistle, but denies its Petrine origin (*De Trin.*, I, 15).

d) *Cyprian* and *Tertullian* are silent.

e) The *Muratorian Canon* omits the Epistle.

f) The early *Syrian Church* does not acknowledge it.

B. *Positive:*

a) It was known as a Petrine Epistle in the *Alexandrian Church.* Cf. *Origen, In Ep. ad Rom.*, IV, 9.

b) *Justin, Dial.*, LXXXII, uses it.

d) Likewise *Hippolytus, Philos.*, IX, 7.

e) *Since Athanasius* it has been universally recognized, *e.g., by* Cyril of Jerus., Gregory of Naz., Augustine, etc.

3) The *critical objections* are unusually emphatic:

a) A number of expressions are supposed to point to the second century, *e.g.*, Θεία δύναμις, I, 3; Θεία φύσις, I, 4; the γνῶσις of Christ, III, 18; the ἐπόπτης, I, 16; the αἰώνιος βασιλεία, I, 11, etc.; Θεός for Christ, I, 1; that the πατέρες are dead, III, 4.

b) The influence of Stoic philosophical terminology and an elaborate Gnostic system is said to be noticeable.

c) The style is claimed to exhibit Hellenistic mannerisms and rhythmical forms, and

d) the Parousia to be postponed indefinitely, III, 4.

The *critical solution* consequently decides for a *pseudonymous author* of a later time, who assumed Peter's name.

4) The *conservative explanation:*

a) It insists that the *doctrinal objections* are exaggerated. There is, in particular, no evidence of the presence of an elaborate Gnostic system among the readers. The ideas concerning regeneration (I, 4) are similar to those in I Pet. I, 3–4; Gal. IV, 4–7; Gal. III, 26 ff.

b) The *stylistic difficulties* can be solved by the theory of an *amanuensis,* already suggested by Jerome, *De Vir. Ill.,* 1: "*Ex quo intelligimus, pro necessitate*

rerum, diversis eum usum interpretibus," i.e., that Peter used different interpreters for his I and II Epistles (Farrar, Cook, Meinertz, etc.).

c) It is admitted that the *identification of the "amanuensis" remains* problematical. Some think of Clement of Rome, because of the stylistic similarity between the latter's Epistle and II Peter (Meinertz).

d) Another solution of the difficulty of style was attempted by the assumption of a *translator* of an *Aramaic* Petrine original (Dillenseger).

5) In spite of the difficulties of internal and external evidence there is not sufficient reason to deny the *indirect Petrine authorship* of the Epistle.

III. **Occasion and Purpose of the Epistle.**

1) The readers are *the same pagan Christians* of the dispersion as in I Peter.

a) III, 1, expressly states, "δευτέραν ὑμῖν γράφω ἐπιστολήν," which evidently refers to I Peter, although Zahn and Spitta, who assume Jewish Christian readers, deny this.

b) The *theory* that the Epistle does *not suppose a definite circle* of readers (Moffatt, von Soden, Jülicher) is opposed to the data of the text.

2) The *heresies* dealt with in the Epistle are the same which were foreseen in *Jude*. Therefore II Peter refers to Jude (cf. above). But there is *no evidence in the Epistle of the Gnosticism of the second century.*

IV. The Date and Place of Composition.

1) It is written *after Jude* (*64–65*), since it refers to this Epistle and suggests that the dangers described in Jude as future are now actual.
2) The Epistle intimates that the *end of the Apostle's life is approaching,* I, 13–14. The *probable date* is therefore *66–67.*
3) The *allusion to Paul's Epistles,* III, 16, does not necessarily point to a later date when an official collection of the Pauline Epistles existed; nor does the expression, "your Apostles," III, 2, admit of a like conclusion.
4) The *place of composition* must consequently be the same as for I Peter, *i.e., Rome,* the place of Peter's death.
5) Of *critical* theories about the date there are many, generally agreeing that the Epistle was written between 150–200 A.D.

V. Special Problems of the Epistle.

Literature: *Mayor,* cf. above.

1. The *relation* between *I* and *II Peter.*
2. The *readers* of the Epistle.
3. The *heresies* mentioned in the Epistle.
4. The *author* of the Epistle.
5. The *style* of the Epistle.

E. The I Epistle of St. John

LITERATURE

CAMERLYNCK, *Commentarius in Epistolas Catholicas,* 1909.
CALMES, *Épîtres Catholiques,* 1905.
BELSER, *Die Briefe des hl. Johannes,* 1906.
WESTCOTT, *The Epistles of St. John,* 1892.
GREEN, *Ephesian Canonical Writings,* 1910.
GOGUEL, *La Notion Johannique de l'Esprit,* 1902.

I. Contents of the Epistle.

Introduction, I, 1–4: Emphasis on the credibility of the eye-witness.

Treatise: The κοινωνία *between the Father and Christ,* announced as *topic* for the Epistle, I, 3. The *nature of this* κοινωνία is described

1) by the contrasts between "light" and "darkness," I, 5–II, 17. (The sign of those living in "light" is brotherly love, II, 7–17.)

2) By the contrast between "truth" and "falsehood," II, 18–29. (The deniers of the truth, *i.e.,* that Christ is the Son of God, are ἀντίχριστοι, II, 22.)

3) By the qualities of the κοινωνία, III, 1–24.
   a) sinlessness, III, 1–12;
   b) brotherly love, III, 13–24.

4) By the relation of brotherly love to the love of God, IV, 1–V, 12.

Conclusion, V, 13–21: Summary of the treatise and warning against the εἴδωλα.

II. The Author and Authenticity of the Epistle.

The name of the author is not mentioned, but *internal and external reasons* demonstrate his identity with the writer of the *fourth Gospel.*

1) *Internal* evidence.

a) The threefold ἔγραψα, II, 13–14, is an emphatic reference to his earlier writing: the Gospel.

b) I, 1, the words, ὅ ἦν ἀπ' ἀρχῆς . . . περὶ τοῦ λόγου τῆς ζωῆς, unmistakably recall the beginning of the fourth Gospel.

c) IV, 14, lays stress in a typically Johannine way on the fact of the writer's being an eye-witness of the life of Christ.

d) There are numerous other parallels between the Epistle and the fourth Gospel, which from a linguistic and doctrinal standpoint connect I John with the author of the fourth Gospel.

2) *External* evidence.

Papias is familiar with ἡ Ἰωάννου προτέρα ἐπιστολή (Euseb., *H.E.,* III, 39, 17). *Ignatius, Ad Smyr.,* VII, quotes the Epistle.

Likewise *Polycarp, Ad Phil.,* VII, 1; *Justin, Dial.,* CXXIII; *Irenaeus, Haer.,* III, 16, 8, expressly refers to St. John as author. It is attested by *Tertullian, Adv. Prax.,* XV, and by *Clement of Alex., Strom.,* II, 15, 66.

3) In the teeth of this convincing evidence criticism generally adheres to the *theory of a pseudonymous or anonymous author,* supposedly an Asiatic Christian who was also active in the final redaction of the fourth Gospel (cf. Pfleiderer, Heitmüller, etc.).

Neither this nor the theory that I John II, 28–III, 12, is the original "protograph" which was enlarged by additions (Dobschütz) has a solid basis.

III. The Occasion and Purpose of the Epistle.

1) The Epistle is almost a treatise in epistolary form.

a) It supposes the existence of a kind of *dualistic Gnosticism* connected with *Docetic opinions* about Christ, which seem to distinguish between the historical Jesus and the divine Christ; II, 22 ff.; cf. V, 20 ff.

b) This Gnosticism was associated with *moral disorders,* II, 4 ff., and lack of brotherly love, III, 11 ff., IV, 7 ff.

c) But this Gnosticism, in spite of the typical contrasts between "light" and "darkness," "truth" and "false-

hood," is *not yet the systematic heresy of the second century,* but rather a growth from the same root, which is discernible in some Pauline Epistles to Asia Minor (Cf. Ephesians).

2) Hence the readers are seen surrounded by the *same doctrinal dangers* as the readers of the *fourth Gospel,* and the general opinion is justified that the Epistle accompanied the Gospel.

IV. Date of Composition.

1) The ἔγραψα in II, 12–14, referring to the fourth Gospel, indicates that it was written after that Gospel.

2) The *identity of the heresies* in both documents proves that *chronologically they are not far apart.*

3) The early testimony of *Papias, Ignatius, Polycarp,* and *Justin* suggests the *end of the first century* as the date of composition.

V. Special Problems of the Epistle.

1. The *Comma Johanneum,* I John V, 7.

The passage: Ἐν τῷ οὐρανῷ, ὁ πατήρ, ὁ λόγος, καὶ τὸ ἅγιον πνεῦμα, καὶ οὗτοι οἱ τρεῖς ἕν εἰσι, καὶ τρεῖς εἰσιν οἱ μαρτυροῦντες ἐν τῇ γῇ, is a later addition, probably of Spanish origin (Priscillian, 380). Although the S. Congregation of the Inquisition, January 13, 1897,

declared it to be authentic, Cardinal Vaughan learned from Leo XIII (cf. *Revue Bibl.*, 1898) that this decision did not prohibit further discussion.

Literature: Gregory, *American Journ. of Theol.*, XI; Künstle, *Das Comma Johanneum*, 1905.

2. *The relation of I John to the fourth Gospel.*

In spite of the similarity between both, the differences have been lately exaggerated to such a degree that a disciple of the Johannine school is suggested as author of the Epistle.

Literature: Jacquier, *Histoire des Livres du N. T.*

3. *The heresies referred to in I John.*

Literature: Wurm, *Die Irrlehren des I Johannesbriefes*, 1903.

F. The II and III Epistles of St. John

LITERATURE

Poggel, *Der zweite und dritte Brief des Apostels Johannes*, 1896.

Bresky, *Das Verhältniss des zweiten Johannesbriefes zum dritten*, 1906.

Chapman, *The Historical Setting of the Second and Third Epistles of St. John* (*Journ. of Theol. Stud.*, 1904).

The two Epistles evidently *belong together* in date, authorship, contents, and character.

I. Contents of the II Epistle.

Introduction, 1–4: Joy that the children of the addressed community, figuratively called ἐκλεκτὴ Κυρία, possess the truth.

Treatise, 5–11:

1) Recommendation of the old commandment of love;

2) Warning against the heresies of Docetism.

Conclusion, 12–13: Hope soon to see the readers personally, and greetings of the children of the sister-community to the Κυρία.

Ia. Contents of the III Epistle.

Treatise: This Epistle is a short note of recognition for Gaius' hospitality towards the itinerant missionaries of the Presbyter and a rebuke for the selfishness of a certain Diotrephes, "*qui amat primatum gerere,*" 1–10.

Conclusion, 11–15: Expression of a hope that he will be able to come personally.

II. The Author and Authenticity of the Epistles.

1) *Internal* evidence.

a) The author of both Epistles is not mentioned by name; he calls himself simply πρεσβύτερος.

b) This reminds one of the famous note of Papias (Euseb., *H.E.,* III, 39, 15), where the Apostle John is also called

πρεσβύτερος and author of the fourth Gospel. Besides, if in I Peter V, 1, Peter is called συμπρεσβύτερος, why should not John be called πρεσβύτερος?

c) The outstanding impression of the extraordinarily *authoritative personality of the author of the two Epistles* is best explained if we recognize in the πρεσβύτερος the Apostle John.

d) The *similarities of the Epistle in language and ideas* to the I Epistle of John and the fourth Gospel furnish an additional confirmation. In particular the three Epistles contain the same fundamental features:

α) emphasis on brotherly love, and

β) a warning against some Gnostic heresies.

2) *External evidence.*

a) *Positive:*

Irenaeus, Haer., III, 16, 8, evidently knew II John. The *Muratorian Canon* speaks of two Epistles of John in contrast to apocryphal literature. This refers admittedly to II and III John, since I John was recognized by all. *Clement of Alex.* wrote a commentary on all the Catholic Epistles (Euseb., *H.E.,* VI, 14, 1).

Eusebius, *H.E.*, III, 25, 3 enumerates II and III John amongst the antilegomena, but admits their canonical character, as he speaks of seven Catholic Epistles (*H.E.*, II, 23, 25).

Jerome, De Vir. Ill., IX, accepts the canonical character of these Epistles, though he differentiates the presbyter from the Apostle John.

Dionysius of Alex. admits the Johannine origin when he repudiates the Apocalypse on the ground that, among other reasons, it differs from II and III John (Euseb., *H.E.*, VII, 25,9).

b) *Negative:*

The early *Syriac Church* does not acknowledge the Epistles, although *Cyril of Jerus., Cat.*, IV, 36, refers to them. *Tertullian* and *Cyprian* are silent.

c) The *reasons for the difficulty* in the recognition are to be sought

α) in the *private character* of the Epistles;

β) in *their small size and doctrinal insignificance;*

γ) in the *sporadic idea* that *another John* than the Apostle may have been the author (Jerome, Eusebius).

d) *Modern critics.*

α) They largely attribute the Epistles to the πρεσβύτερος *John* of Papias, but distinguish him from the Apostle John (Harnack, Dobschütz, von Soden, Peake, etc.).

β) Some find a *distinct difference* between I John coupled with the fourth Gospel and II and III John in union with the Apocalypse (Jülicher, etc.).

III. **The Occasion and Purpose of II John.**

1) The Epistle is addressed to a community which is endangered by *Docetic heresies.* The community is figuratively called the "*elect lady*" (Κυρία), as is evident from v. 1 (cf. I Pet. V, 13). This is accepted by the majority of interpreters.

2) *Theories* regarding the expression "*elect lady*" are various. *Clement of Alexandria,* (*Adumbrationes,* IV) conjectured: "*scripta vero est ad quamdam Babyloniam Electam, significat autem electionem ecclesiae sanctae.*" Wettstein conjectured that the "*electa*" was some woman by the name of Electa, others thought of Mary, or even of Martha in this connection; *Chapman* of the Church in Rome. *Others* see in Κυρία a *personal title. Jerome,* Ep., 123, 11 *ad Ageruch.,* applied it to the *Church in general.*

IIIa. **The Occasion and Purpose of III John.**

1) It is addressed to *Gaius,* who is a member of the same community to which II John is addressed, v. 9 referring to II John. But the precise address cannot be determined.
2) The occasion for the Epistle was twofold:
   a) the *hospitality* of Gaius to the itinerant missionaries of John, vv. 5–8;
   b) the selfishness of a certain Diotrephes, who opposed John and his messengers, vv. 9–10.

   Harnack sees in Diotrephes the first example of the monarchical bishop, against whom the presbyter directed his protest.
3) The *theories* of those who attempt an *exact determination* of the address differ:
   α) some are for Pergamus (Findlay, Hilgenfeld);
   β) others for Thessalonica (Chapman).

   According to the Apostolic Constitutions Gaius was bishop of Pergamus, Diotrephes bishop of Philadelphia.

IV. **The Date of Composition of Both Epistles.**

1) For those who maintain the authorship of John the Apostle the date of the Epistles is c. 100 A.D.
2) The *critics* who attribute them to John the presbyter, as distinct from the Apostle, date them between 110 and 160 A.D.

V. Special Problems of the Epistles.

Cf. Literature above.

1. The *authorship* of II and III John.
2. The *Muratorian fragment as testimony* for II and III John.
3. The *community addressed by II John.*
4. The Κυρία in II John.

CHAPTER XII

THE APOCALYPSE

LITERATURE

Allo, *St. Jean, L'Apocalypse,* 1921.
Calmes, *Épîtres Catholiques et Apocalypse,* 1905.
Calmes, *L'Apocalypse devant la Tradition et devant la Critique,* 1907.
Scott, *Lectures on the Apocalypse,* 1909.
Jowett, *The Apocalypse of St. John,* 1910.
Ramsay, *Letters to the Seven Churches,* 1905.
B. Weiss, *Die Johannesapokalypse,* 1891.
Laughlin, *The Solecisms of the Apocalypse,* 1902.
Conybeare, *The Armenian Text of the Revelation,* 1907.
Gwynn, *The Apocalypse of St. John in Syriac,* 1897.
Sweete, *The Apocalypse,* 1906.
Charles, *Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Revelation of St. John,* 1920.

The Apocalypse is the *only prophetical* book of the New Testament.

I. Contents of the Apocalypse.

Introduction, I, 1–III, 22: Prologue: Seven letters to the seven Churches of Ephesus, Smyrna, Pergamus, Thyatira, Sardes, Philadelphia, and Laodicea, dealing with present conditions in those churches.

1. *The prophetical vision of the judgment on Jerusalem,* IV, 1–XI, 19.

Introduction to the opening of the book with seven seals, IV, 1–V, 14.

a) The plagues of the seven seals, VI, 1–VIII, 5.

b) The seventh unsealing leads to the plague of the seven trumpets, VIII, 6–XI, 19.

(The two μάρτυρες and the destruction of Jerusalem, XI, 1–19.)

2. *The vision of the judgment on the pagan world,* XII, 1–XIX, 10.

a) The struggle between the kingdom of Christ and the power of the world, XII, 1–XIV, 20.

α) The woman persecuted by the dragon, who is allied with the beast from the sea and the beast from the land, XII–XIII.

β) Announcement of the fall of the power of Satan, XIV.

b) The plagues of the seven phials, XV, 1–XVI, 21.

c) The fall of Babylon (Rome), XVII, 1–XIX, 10.

3. *The Triumph of the Logos,* XIX, 11–XXII, 5.

a) The triumph of the Λόγος τοῦ Θεοῦ, XIX, 11–21.

b) The dragon's subjection for 1000 years and the glory of Christ's kingdom for this period, XX (the source of the later Chiliasm).

c) The new Jerusalem and its glory, XXI–XXII, 5.

Conclusion, XXII, 6–21: Epilogue; Credibility of the Apocalypse.

II. **The Author and Authenticity of the Apocalypse.**

The *author* calls himself "John" in several places, *e.g.,* I, 1, 4, 9; XXII, 8. The question arises whether or not he is the *Apostle John.*

1. *Non-Catholic criticism* is unanimous in holding that the author *cannot be identical with the author of the fourth Gospel.* The *reasons* are much the same as those already brought forward by Dionysius of Alex.

a) The difference of *language,* which in the Apocalypse is a mixture of Hebraistic and vulgar Greek.

b) The differences in *doctrine;* special exception is taken to the comparative silence on brotherly love, which is the prominent topic of the fourth Gospel.

c) The difference in the *temper* of the two authors, the author of the Apocalypse being emotional beyond comparison with the mystic bent of the author of the fourth Gospel.

2. The *theories* of critics about the *author* vary.

a) Some think of an *Asiatic prophet* of the name "John" (Jülicher, etc.).
b) Others of *John Mark* (Hausrath, etc.).
c) Others of a *pseudonymous author* (Wernle, Davidson, Bacon, etc.).
d) Others of *"John the Presbyter"* in contrast to John the Apostle (DeWette, Ewald, Peake, Loisy, etc.).
e) According to *Gunkel* the Apocalypse is more or less a production of traditional Babylonian mythology.
f) *Morosow* (*Die Offenbarung Johannis,* 1912) maintains that the Apocalypse is a description of the starry firmament as seen from the island of Patmos during a thunderstorm and earthquake which took place on Sept. 30th, A.D. 395. It is supposed to have been written by John Chrysostom to describe the downfall of the Byzantine Empire.

2_a. The critical *theories about the structure* of the Apocalypse likewise diverge.
a) Some think of one *uniform Jewish original* which was worked up by a Christian writer (Davidson, etc.).
b) Others of a *combination of two Jewish sources* (O. Holtzmann, etc.).
c) Others of a *combination of three Jewish sources* (P. W. Schmidt, etc.).

d) Others of four *Jewish sources* (Brückner.)

e) Others of a *combination of a "Proto-Apocalypse"* (John-Mark) with two *Jewish sources* (Spitta).

f) Others of a combination of an *apocalypse of Mark and another of Cerinthus* (Völter etc.).

g) Others of a combination of a *Jewish apocalypse* with *five more Jewish sources* (Rauch).

h) Others broach a *composition theory,* assuming a merging of various Jewish or Christian fragments (Sabatier, Baljon, etc.). In the determination of these fragments there is no agreement.

i) Others hold that there were different *successive editions* with editorial additions and changes (Briggs, etc.).

k) Besides, a number of *misplacements* and *interpolations* are alleged.

3. Nevertheless, *sufficient evidence* points to the *Apostle John* as the author.

a) *Internal* evidence.

α) Certain *linguistic peculiarities* permeate the *whole* of the Apocalypse and prove a distinct unity of authorship.

β) The author himself emphasizes his

character as an *eye-witness,* cf. XXII, 8.

γ) He exercises a remarkable *authority* over the bishops (angels) of Asia, II, 1 ff., which is best accounted for by accepting the authorship of the Apostle John.

δ) The *fundamental ideas* of the "*Lamb* that bears the sins of the world" and of the "*Logos*" are essentially the same in the Apocalypse as in the fourth Gospel.

ε) Besides, there is a considerable number of *linguistic* and *doctrinal parallels in both.*

b) The *external* evidence.

The Apocalypse was *known to Ignatius, Ad. Philad.* VI, 1; *Hermas, Vis., II,* 2, 7; *Papias* (according to Andrew of Cesarea); *Justin, Dial.,* LXXXI, 14; *Melito of Sardes* (Euseb., *H.E.,* IV, 26, 2); *Apollonius* (Euseb., *H.E.,* V, 18, 14); *Dionysius of Corinth* (Euseb., *H.E.,* IV, 23, 12); *Cyprian, De Exhort. Mart.,* XI; the *Marcosians* (Euseb., *H.E.,* V, 18); the *Old Latin translations;* the *Muratorian Canon.*

It is vouched for as the work of the *Apostle John* by *Irenaeus, Haer.,* V, 30. 1; *Tertullian, De Praescr.,* XXXIII.

Without doubt it belonged to the *canon*

of Clement of Alexandria, Origen, Athanasius, Jerome, Hilary, Augustine, Ambrose, etc.

Eusebius has doubts about the Apocalypse, but admits it in the enumeration of the *Homologumena:* Ἐπὶ τούτοις τακτέον, εἴγε φανείη, τὴν ἀποκάλυψιν Ἰωάννου . . . ταῦτα μὲν ἐν ὁμολογουμένοις (*H.E.*, III, 25, 2).

4. *There are difficulties concerning*

a) the *external evidence, namely:*

α) The Apocalypse is *missing* in the *Syriac Canon* (Peshitta, Philoxeniana). *Cyril of Jerus., Cat.*, IV, 36, omits the Apocalypse in his enumeration of N. T. books. But it is known to *Theophilus of Antioch* (Euseb., *H.E.*, IV, 24, 1).

β) Its authenticity is positively denied by *Gaius* in his disputation with the Montanist Proclus (Euseb., *H.E.*, III, 28, 2).

γ) Esp. by its *chief opponent Dionysius of Alex.*, who bases his *famous criticism* on the *linguistic disparities* between the Apocalypse and the rest of the Johannine writings; he attributes the Apocalypse to a "*John*" other than the Apostle (Euseb., *H.E.*, VII, 25, 1). According to

Eusebius (*H.E.*, VII, 25, 2) it was considered by some as a *forgery of Cerinthus.*

The main reason for the denial of the authenticity of the Apocalypse was the *reaction* against the *heresy of Chiliasm,* which seemed to be supported by the Apocalypse (cf. the disputation of Gaius, Euseb., *H.E.*, III, 28).

b) *The internal evidence.*

The linguistic differences can be satisfactorily explained

α) by the *apocalyptic style,* similar to the prophetic style of the O. T.;

β) the *difference of contents* from the fourth Gospel;

γ) and the *use of Jewish apocalyptic literature.*

III **The Purpose of the Apocalypse** is to strengthen the courage of the faithful under the Domitian persecution,

1. by foretelling the final downfall of Rome, as the anti-Christian power;
2. and the trials and final victory of Christ's kingdom in future times.

IV. **Date of Composition.**

1. *Irenaeus, Haer.*, V, 30, 3, states expressly that the Apocalypse is written πρὸς τῷ τέλει τῆς

Δομετιανοῦ ἀρχῆς, which points *to 94–96,* when John was exiled at Patmos, Apoc. I, 9.

2. This is *confirmed* by the *fact that the Apocalypse* opposes (cf. especially ch. XIII) the divine prerogatives of the Roman emperors, the recognition of which was demanded officially for the first time under Domitian. Cf. the apocalyptic number (616) 666 (XIII, 18), *i.e.,* Καῖσαρ Θεός (Deissmann).
3. The statement of *Epiphanius, Haer.,* LI, 12, that John was exiled during the reign of Claudius, is a mistake.
4. The theories of recent critics concerning the date quite unexpectedly show a *backward tendency:*
   a) Some date the Apocalypse *before the fall of Jerusalem,* either in the reign of Nero or Vespasian;
   b) others even discover allusions to the *times of Cæsar* or *Claudius.*

   All *non-Domitian theories* must contradict the dangers and persecutions stamped upon the Apocalypse, and the express statement of Irenaeus.

   The majority of scholars therefore, favor the *Domitian period* (Milligan, Salmon, Godet, Meinertz, Cornely, Belser, McGiffert, Peake, etc.).

V. Special Problems of the Apocalypse.

Cf. Literature above.

1. The relation of the *Apocalypse to the fourth Gospel.*
2. The *language of the Apocalypse.*
3. The *literary sources used in the Apocalypse.*
4. The *author of the Apocalypse.*

   Cf. Allo, *L' Auteur de l'Apocalypse, RB.*, 1917.

5. The *canonicity of the Apocalypse.*
6. The *Christology of the Apocalypse.*
7. The *teaching of the Apocalypse.*
8. The *Symbols of the Apocalypse.*

   Cf. Calmes, *Les Symboles de l'Apocalypse, RB.*, 1915.

CHAPTER XIII

THE UNITY OF THE "CORPUS JOHANNEUM"

LITERATURE

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ALLO, *La Structure de l'Apocalypse de S. Jean, Revue Bibl.*, 1911.
LEPIN, *L'Origine du Quatrième Évangile*, 1907.

Since the time of Dionysius of Alex. controversies about the authorship of the "Johannine writings" have raged unceasingly. *Radical criticism* in our days has arrived at quite *contradictory conclusions:*

1. Some ascribe the fourth Gospel and the three "Johannine Epistles," but not the Apocalypse, to the *Apostle John.*
2. Others attribute the *Apocalypse to St. John,* but not the fourth Gospel and the Epistles.
3. The majority of critics distinguish the author of the fourth Gospel and of I John from the author of the Apocalypse and of II and III John.

Catholic and a number of non-Catholic scholars recognize St. John, the Apostle, as the author of the entire so-called "Corpus Johanneum."

1. Identity of the Author of the Fourth Gospel with the Author of the Apocalypse.

1. The *differences.*

a) Most *characteristic expressions* of the Apocalypse (*e.g.*, ἡ οἰκουμένη, κατοικοῦντες ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς, ὁ πρωτότοκος τῶν νεκρῶν, Κύριος ὁ θεός, παντοκράτωρ, etc.) do not occur in the fourth Gospel; and, *vice versa,* characteristic words of the Gospel (e.g., ἡ ἀλήθεια, ζωὴ αἰώνιος, γεννηθῆναι ἐκ τοῦ θεοῦ) are not to be found in the Apocalypse.

b) The *language* of the fourth Gospel is tolerably fair Greek, whereas the Greek of the Apocalypse is "not correct," as Dionysius remarked.

c) The *style* of the Gospel is calm and dignified; that of the Apocalypse impetuous and teeming with imagery.

d) The *Christology* of the Gospel is given in more or less speculative terms; that of the Apocalypse is described in a series of apocalyptic visions.

2. *Estimate of the differences.*

a) Their importance is *exaggerated* by most critics.

b) They may be satisfactorily explained

α) by the totally different *object* and purpose of the two documents, one being a *biography,* the other a *prophecy;*

β) by the possibility and *probability* that St. John *knew,* used and

even deliberately imitated *existing apocalyptic literature.*

γ) The exposition of Christian doctrines, esp. of Christology, is *not contradictory* in the two writings, but exhibits merely a different aspect of the same idea.

3. *The existing similarities* postulate the identity of authorship:

a) In both writings *Christ* is the λόγος θεοῦ, John I, 1, Apoc., XIX, 13; the "Lamb of God," John I, 29, Apoc. V, 6 (although the latter uses ἀρνίον in lieu of ἀμνός in the Gospel); Christ must be honored as the Father, John V, 22 f.; Apoc. V, 12 f.; the Son is one with the Father, John X, 30, Apoc. XXI, 22 f.; Christ has delivered us from sin by His blood, John I, 29, Apoc. I, 5; He raises the dead, John V, 21, Apoc. I, 18; etc.

b) The Gospel quotes *Zachary* XIX, 37; so does Apoc. I, 7, with the same word ἐκκεντέω, which is different from LXX.

c) In addition to this, *linguistic* similarities abound: ξῶν πατήρ (John) = θεός ξῶν (Apoc.); both speak of the υἱὸς τοῦ θεοῦ; both use ἀληθινός, μάρτυς, μαρτυρεῖν; both use ἔχω with a substantive, *e.g.*,

ἀγαπὴν ἔχω for ἀγαπῶ (John); ἁμαρτίαν ἔχω for ἁμαρτάνω (Apoc.), etc.

Hence the argument against the identity of the authorship of the Gospel and the Apocalypse cannot be sustained.

II. The Identity of the Authorship of the Gospel and I John.

1. *The differences.*

a) *Characteristic words and expressions of the Gospel* (*e.g.*, ἀνάστησις ζωῆς, τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον, γεννηθῆναι ἄνωθεν, etc.) are not found in I John, and *vice versa,* significant expressions of the Epistle (*e.g.*, ἀγγελία, κοινωνία, παρουσία, etc.) are missing in the Gospel. The particle οὖν, used more than two hundred times in the Gospel, is practically absent from I John.

b) The *ideas* proposed in both writings, also seem to differ. The important idea of the παρουσία set forth in the Epistle, II, 28, is barely mentioned in the fourth Gospel, where XIV, 3, and XXI, 22, contain allusions to it. In the Gospel XIV, 26, the παράκλητος is the Holy Ghost; in the Epistle this title is given to Christ, II, 1.

The Epistle II, 2, expressly mentions the ἱλασμός, the propitiation, which is not directly spoken of in the

Gospel, although VI, 51, has a similar concept.

The O. T. quotations, so numerous in the Gospel, are entirely missing in the Epistle.

2. *The similarities.* They are so *striking* that the relation cannot be denied.

a) In both writings we find the same *contrasts* of φῶς and σκοτία (σκότος in the other N. T. books); of ζωή and θάνατος; of ἀλήθεια and ψεῦδος.

b) A considerable number of *words* are contained only in these two writings and in no other N. T. book.

c) Both have in numerous cases an *exactly identical phraseology.*

John III, 11: ἑωράκαμεν καὶ μαρτυροῦμεν.

I John I, 2: has the same phrase.

John VI, 69: πεπιστεύκαμεν καὶ ἐγνώκαμεν.

I John IV, 16: the same expression inverted.

John XV, 18: ὁ κόσμος ὑμᾶς μισεῖ.

I John III, 13: μισεῖ ὑμᾶς ὁ κόσμος, etc.

d) Both express the same *doctrinal ideas.*

John X, 17: ἐγὼ τίθημι τὴν ψυχήν μου.

I John III, 16: τὴν ψυχὴν αὐτοῦ ἔθηκεν.

John V, 24: μεταβέβηκεν ἐκ τοῦ θανάτου εἰς τὴν ζωήν.

I John III, 14: the same idea and phrase, etc.

Conclusion: Either both writings have the same

author or the author of the one imitated the author of the other. In the latter case it remains inexplicable why the imitator reproduced only some parts faithfully and abandoned his original on the most essential points of doctrine. If, however, we keep to the theory of a single author the explanation is easy: in his second publication, though it be written independently from the first — he reverts continually to the stereotyped phraseology of the first.

III. **The Identity of the Authorship of the three Johannine Epistles.**

1. II and III John presuppose an authority of the writer over the Church like that shown forth in chap. II and III of the Apocalypse, the author of which is the Apostle John.

   It is therefore admitted by a great number of critics that II and III John go with the Apocalypse and have the same author. Besides it has been shown above that I John, Apocalypse, and Gospel likewise go together and postulate the same authorship. Hence II and III John have the same author as the rest of the "Corpus Johanneum."

2. In addition let it be remembered that I, II, and III John are closely interrelated, all of them having the characteristic features of "brotherly love" and "warning against Gnostic heresies." The author of the one reveals

himself in the others, and I John is certainly to be ascribed to the Apostle.

IV. **Hence the identity of the authorship of the whole "Corpus Johanneum" rests on solid grounds.**

THE END

INDEX

I. AUTHORS.

Abbott, 55, 179, 188, 194.
Adeny, 6, 32.
Ainsworth, 164.
Alexander, 179, 188.
Alford, 1, 160, 205, 212, 246, 264.
Allen, 6.
Allo, 283, 292.
Armstrong, 119.
Askwith, 135, 149.
Ayles, 30, 203.

Bachmann, 157, 166.
Bacon, 19, 28, 61, 70, 78, 130, 134, 145, 149, 160, 170, 187, 193, 200, 206, 232, 241, 242, 250, 262, 286.
Baldwin, 130.
Baljon, 45, 170, 177, 194, 261, 287.
Bardenhewer, 39, 40, 69.
Barnes, 57.
Barth, 181, 212, 225, 242.
Bartlet, 205.
Bartmann, 245.
Barton, 88.
Batiffol, 15, 16, 17, 18, 42, 57, 84, 86, 102.
Bauer, B., 81, 83, 147, 161, 176, 184, 199.
Bauer, W., 202.
Baumgarten, 205.
Baur, 184, 199, 201, 205, 223.
Bebber, van, 69, 89.
Bebel, 84.
Beelen, 197.
Beet, 156.
Belser, 14, 26, 38, 53, 61, 69, 77, 89, 91, 110f., 149, 160, 165, 174, 187f., 191f., 194, 208, 212, 217, 236, 246, 250, 254, 265, 272, 291.
Bengel, 1.
Berger, 171.
Bernard, 217.
Berning, 40.
Bertrams, 131.
Bertrand, 217.
Beyschlag, 82, 223.
Beza, 186, 191.
Bigg, 248, 254f., 262, 264.
Bindley, 164.
Bisping, 14, 194, 212.
Björnsen, 84.
Black, 17.
Blass, 32, 39, 111, 151, 177, 212.
Bleek, 167, 196, 202, 205, 212.
Bonaccorsi, 42, 87.
Bonhöffer, 129, 248.
Boor, 67.
Bourchany, 102.
Bousset, 69, 151.
Box, 15.
Brandt, 164.
Brassac, 1.
Bresky, 276.
Briggs, 1, 80, 82, 108, 134, 150, 265, 287.
Bruce, 32, 205.
Brückner, 287.
Brunet, 188, 193.
Brüning, 140.
Bruston, 133.

Bultmann, 129.
Burgon, 30.
Burkitt, 2, 82, 104, 109.
Burton, 19, 82, 132.

Cabrol, 88.
Cadbury, 40.
Cajetan, 212, 244.
Caldwell, 188.
Callan, 2.
Calmes, 2, 61, 69, 235, 272, 283.
Calvin, 213.
Camerlynck, 42, 57, 105, 235, 246, 272.
Campbell, 139.
Carr, 6, 215.
Case, 84, 111.
Chamberlain, 84.
Chapman, 14, 17, 57, 68, 69, 212, 276, 280f.
Charles, 283.
Chase, 17, 105, 149.
Chaume, 99.
Chauvin, 73.
Cheyne, 16, 17, 18.
Chwolson, 94, 98.
Cladder, 89.
Clemen, 18, 105, 113, 124, 134, 142, 149, 186, 191, 199, 201, 208, 223, 232, 262.
Colson, 225.
Cone, 135, 264, 265.
Conybeare, 17, 30, 39, 202, 283.
Cook, 270.
Coppieters, 57, 111.
Cornely, 1, 7, 14, 38, 54, 69, 89, 116, 134, 151, 162, 164, 212, 245, 250, 263, 291.
Corssen, 69.
Cramer, 190.
Credner, 167.

Dalman, 10, 55.
Darby, 32.
Dausch, 80, 99.
Davidson, 151, 170, 181, 208, 240, 254, 262, 286.
Deissmann, 114, 119, 124, 129, 131, 159, 186, 191, 194, 225, 241, 252, 264, 291.
Deissner, 129, 130.
Delitzsch, 205, 213.
Denney, 171.
Dibelius, 130, 193, 201, 205, 212, 225.
Didon, 80.
Dillenseger, 270.
Dobschütz, 151, 274, 280.
Döllinger, 213.
Drews, 83.
Driver, 1, 134.
Drum, 80, 139.
Drummond, 61, 79, 145, 167, 171.
Dubowy, 126.
Duchesne, 174, 194, 259, 265.
Durand, 40, 57, 87, 101, 103.

Edersheim, 80.
Eichhorn, 178, 261.
Ellicott, 135.
Elten, van, 88, 101.
Emmet, 150.
Erasmus, 187, 212, 240.
Erbes, 264.
Estius, 187.
Evanson, 147, 176.
Everling, 130.
Ewald, 143, 170, 174, 177, 181, 191, 201f., 205, 208, 229, 250, 254, 262, 265, 286.

Fahnenbruch, 164.
Fairbairn, 82.
Farrar, 32, 80, 134, 208, 212, 246, 265, 270.
Faye, de, 135.
Feine, 174, 241.
Felice, de, 174.
Felten, 14.

Fendt, 89.
Fillion, 54.
Findlay, 135, 151, 160, 165, 167, 205, 208, 281.
Fouard, 61, 76, 80, 103f., 194, 212, 248.
Fonck, 17, 103.
Frazer, 83.
Frey, 104.
Funk, 67, 69, 163.

Gardiner, 16.
Gardner, 109.
Galtier, 201.
Gheorghiu, 249, 254.
Gieseler, 54.
Gigot, 18, 57.
Gilbert, 151.
Gloag, 135, 142, 144, 235.
Godet, 54, 61, 110, 151, 171, 174, 181, 193, 208, 212, 291.
Goguel, 19, 135, 272.
Goodspeed, 208.
Gould, 19.
Grafe, 240.
Granbery, 265.
Granger, 129.
Grau, 212, 223.
Green, 272.
Gregory, 212, 225, 276.
Grenfell, 9.
Grimm, 80.
Grotius, 187, 192, 213.
Gunkel, 286.
Guthe, 113.
Gutjahr, 149, 254.
Gwynn, 283.

Haeckel, 84.
Hagen, 113.
Halévy, 2.
Halmel, 170.
Haneberg, 14.
Harnack, 16, 32, 35, 39, 55, 70, 105, 113, 116, 120, 160, 164, 174, 187, 192f., 199, 205f., 206, 213, 223, 225, 240f., 250, 253, 261, 264f., 280f.
Harris, R., 111, 129, 213.
Hartmann, 28, 84.
Hase, 81.
Hatch, 129, 265.
Haupt, 151, 179, 186.
Hausrath, 149, 170, 200, 208, 232, 286.
Haussleiter, 77.
Hawkins, 35, 42, 108.
Headlam, 171.
Heer, 15, 35, 41.
Hegel, 83.
Heigl, 203, 215.
Heinrici, 129, 156, 162, 171, 191, 212, 223.
Heitmüller, 131, 274.
Henle, 181.
Hensler, 104.
Herder, 81.
Herford, 87.
Hess, 81.
Heyse, 84.
Hicks, 212.
Hilgenfeld, 15, 108, 151, 162, 170, 177, 184, 199, 202, 205, 208, 212, 223, 232, 247, 281.
Hobart, 35, 105, 107.
Hoenicke, 113, 151.
Hoffmann, 19.
Holsten, 151, 162, 170, 199, 202.
Holtzmann, J., 1, 17, 39, 57, 64, 69, 82, 134, 142, 151, 177, 196, 199, 205, 208, 223, 253, 263, 286.
Homanner, 90.
Horn, 77.
Hort, 194, 225, 255.
Howson, 134, 151, 163, 202.
Hug, 14, 194, 213, 250.
Hummelauer, 1, 134.
Hunkin, 103.
Hunt, 9.

Husband, 104.

Ibsen, 84.

Jackson, 42, 61, 104.
Jacquier, 1, 42, 57, 69, 102, 104, 111, 142, 151, 160, 163 167, 174, 178, 195, 215f., 225, 263, 276, 293.
James, 217, 233.
Jensen, 84.
Johannes, 136.
Johnstone, 255, 264.
Jowett, 135, 151, 179, 283.
Jülicher, 57, 69, 77, 142, 160, 177f., 191, 193, 199, 205, 208, 223, 240, 245, 247, 250, 254, 264, 265, 270, 280, 286.
Juncker, 131.

Kabisch, 130.
Kalthoff, 83.
Kant, 83.
Kasteren, van, 30, 77.
Kaulen, 14, 26, 38, 187, 192, 212, 245, 250, 254.
Kautzky, 84.
Keil, 53, 177.
Keim, 82.
Kellet, 163.
Kellner, 259.
Kennedy, 129.
Kepler, 87.
Kirchbach, 83.
Kittel, 165.
Klöpper, 188.
Klostermann, 204, 212.
Knabenbauer, 1, 54, 69, 90, 134, 188.
Knopf, 151.
Knowling, 16, 105, 134, 140, 193, 236.
Kögel, 255.
Kukula, 86.
Künstle, 276.

Lagrange, 19, 28, 30, 36, 42, 57, 88, 145, 171, 248.
Lake, 17, 82.
Langen, 205.
Larfeld, 42.
Lattey, 78.
Laughlin, 217, 283.
Lebreton, 16, 102.
Le Camus, 54, 80, 103, 113, 134.
Lemonyer, 134.
Lepin, 61, 102, 293.
Lessing, 81.
Levesque, 2.
Lewis, A. S., 202.
Lias, 156, 166.
Lietzmann, 1, 134, 151, 174, 177, 265.
Lightfoot, 67, 112, 116, 131, 145, 151, 156, 160, 171, 179, 181, 187, 192, 194, 196f., 201f., 225, 265.
Link, 84.
Lisco, 170.
Loisy, 16, 18, 39, 55, 73, 82, 286.
Loman, 148, 161.
Loosten, 83.
Lowrie, 165, 248.
Lünemann, 212.
Lütgert, 156, 163, 225.
Luther, 212, 237, 244.
Lyski, 77.

Mackintosh, 135.
Maclear, 19.
MacNeil, 216.
Macpherson, 186, 199.
MacRory, 18, 61, 156.
Maier, 233, 249, 254.
Manen, van, 142, 177, 197.
Mangold, 177, 223.
Manson, 102.
Marshall, 55.
Massebieau, 17.
Mathis, 216.

Matthews, 82.
Mayer, 88.
Mayor, 236, 241, 248, 250, 254.
McGiffert, 135, 149, 160, 170, 178, 193, 206, 208, 229, 232, 241, 250, 254, 261, 265, 291.
McEvilly, 1.
Meinertz, 14, 151, 174, 194, 208, 217, 236, 246f., 248, 253, 262, 270, 291.
Ménégoz, 203, 208.
Menzies, 19.
Merx, 6, 16.
Meyer, 1, 134.
Michael, 17.
Michaelis, 213, 264.
Mill, 187.
Milligan 135, 203, 206, 216, 291.
Moffatt, 16, 54, 113, 125, 134, 142, 170, 174, 195, 240, 248, 255, 263, 270.
Mommert, 89.
Mommsen, 151.
Monnet, 135.
Monnier, 255, 262.
Monteil, 135.
Morosow, 286.
Moske, 115.
Moulton, 212.
Müller, J., 197.
Murray, 163.
Mynster, 150, 205, 212.

Naber, 148, 161.
Naegeli, 129.
Nestle, 111.
Nicholson, 15.
Nicol, 2.
Nietzsche, 84.
Nisius, 90.
Norden, 120.
Nösgen, 54, 264.
Notz, 103.

Ohleyer, 133.
Olshausen, 167.
Oltramare, 179, 193f.

Parry, 236.
Paulus, 87, 177.
Peake, 174, 206, 213, 247, 280, 286, 291.
Perdelwitz, 162, 165, 206, 213, 255, 262.
Perrot, 149.
Pfättisch, 89, 91.
Pfleiderer, 36, 39, 78, 149, 170, 174, 177, 181, 184, 199, 201, 206, 208, 240, 253, 274.
Pierson, 148.
Pirot, 105.
Plummer, 1, 6, 32, 134, 160, 165.
Poggel, 276.
Pölzl, 14, 134.
Pope, 73.
Prat, 89, 129f., 135.
Prestige, 15.

Ramsay, 107, 109, 111, 113, 116, 134, 145, 149, 160, 208, 212, 283.
Rasmussen, 83.
Rauch, 287.
Reimarus, 81.
Reithmayr, 212.
Renan, 82, 84, 143, 193, 208, 212, 223.
Rendall, 149, 156, 160, 170, 205, 208, 212, 215.
Resch, 55, 164, 212.
Rhijn, 162.
Rickaby, 6, 61, 145.
Rinieri, 174.
Ritschl, 212.
Roberts, 82.
Robertson, 83, 167, 193.
Robinson, 2, 61, 186, 188.
Rohr, 156.
Rose, 2, 6, 32.
Rosegger, 84.

Royce, 83.
Rückert, 151.
Rutherford, 194.

Sabatier, 121, 124, 134, 160, 163, 168, 170, 181, 186, 193, 223, 246, 289.
Salmon, 41, 110, 151, 193, 208, 212, 246, 250, 265, 291.
Salmond, 19.
Sanday, 42, 81, 110, 171, 178.
Schäfer, 135, 156, 167, 171, 194, 203.
Schanz, 6, 14, 19, 32, 53, 61, 245.
Schanze, 149.
Schegg, 2, 26, 54.
Schelling, 83.
Schenkel, 82, 186.
Schleiermacher, 55, 193, 223.
Schmid, 205.
Schmidt, 286.
Schmiedel, 165, 170, 178, 280.
Schneckenburger, 187.
Schneid, 94.
Schnitzer, 17.
Schopenhauer, 83.
Schumacher, 16, 201.
Schürer, 151, 206, 208.
Schwegler, 184, 199, 205, 213, 223.
Schweitzer, 80, 82, 135.
Schwienhorst, 255.
Scott, 61, 78, 177, 283.
Scrivener, 40.
Semler, 170, 177f., 205, 264.
Shaw, 134.
Sheppard, 164.
Seisenberger, 212.
Sickenberger, 54, 254.
Siefert, 151.
Slater, 6.
Smit, 216.
Smith, J., 113.
Smith, W. B., 83.
Soden, von, 125, 149, 174, 177, 181, 191, 197, 206, 208, 212, 223, 232, 240f., 247, 250, 252, 254, 261, 265, 270, 280.
Soltau, 70.
Spitta, 65, 70, 108, 176, 186, 199, 216, 236, 248, 254, 261, 270, 287.
Stanley, 156.
Stapfer, 57.
Steck, 161, 197.
Steenkiste, van, 6, 134.
Steinmann, 105, 145, 151, 163, 181, 188.
Stephenson, 17.
Strack, 1.
Strauss, 77, 81, 83.
Sudermann, 84.
Swete, 19, 78, 79, 265.

Thiersch, 212.
Tholuck, 205, 212.
Thorburn, 102.
Tillmann, 1, 102, 139.
Tindall, 103.
Tobac, 132.
Tolstoi, 84.
Torrey, 109.
Turmel, 16.
Toussaint, 134.
Trenkle, 151, 245f., 254.
Tyrrell, 82.

Usener, 39.

Vaughan, 276.
Vetter, 171.
Vigouroux, 1.
Vincent, 196f.
Volkmar, 208, 212, 254.
Völter, 161, 170, 176f., 201f., 254, 261, 287.
Vosté, 135.

Walker, 149.

Watson, 61.
Wearing, 62.
Weber, 149f., 165.
Weinel, 134.
Weiss, B., 82, 124, 160, 165, 193, 195, 212, 225, 246, 250, 263f., 283.
Weiss, J., 1, 19, 55, 57, 82, 129, 134, 149, 157, 162, 163, 176, 186, 201.
Weisse, 57.
Weizsäcker, 69, 82, 149, 206, 223.
Welch, 212.
Wellhausen, 16, 17, 70, 77.
Wendland, 125, 142.
Wendt, 151, 170, 206.
Wernle, 42, 57, 131, 286.
West, 141.
Westcott, 54, 61, 132, 203, 272.
Westcott-Hort, 91, 188.
Wette, de, 177, 205, 208, 212, 252, 263, 265, 286.
Wetter, 79, 133.
Wettstein, 187, 192, 205, 280.
Whitaker, 41, 163.
White, 104.
Wieseler, 187.
Williams, 151, 188.
Wilson, 248.
Winstanlay, 104.
Wohlenberg, 225, 255.
Wordsworth, 242.
Worsley, 73.
Wrede, 55, 82, 142f., 191, 203, 206, 208, 215, 223, 247, 265.
Wright, 2, 32, 42.
Wurm, 276.

Zahn, 1, 14, 111, 116, 134, 142, 149, 165, 193, 194, 208, 212, 225, 246, 254, 262f., 265, 270.
Zöckler, 1, 151.

II. SUBJECTS.

Abraham, 204, 207.
Achaia, 158.
Achaicus, 160.
Acta Pauli, 171.
Actium, 158.
Acts, 105.
  Contents, 105.
  Author, 106.
  Sources, 108.
  Purpose, 109.
  Date and place of compos., 110.
  Problems, 110.
  Biblical Commission, 112.
Adulteræ pericope, 77.
Adumbrationes, 280.
Agape, 163.
Agnostos Theos, 120.
Agrapha, 104.
Agrippa I, 117, 258.
Agrippa II, 124.
Albinus, 123, 239.
Alexander of Al., 214.
Alexandria, 124.
Alexandrians, Ep. to, 205.
Allegorical narrations, 73.
Alle Tre Fontane, 128.
Alpheus, 7, 238f.
Altar of sacrifices, 215.
Ambrose, St., 53, 215, 289.
Amyntas, 154.
Anacolutha, 209, 224.
Analysis of sound (Gal.), 149.
Angelic hierarchy, 182.

Angelology (of St. Paul), 130, 225.
Angels, 163, 188, 253f., 288 (bishops).
Angelus Satanæ, 114.
Anointing of the sick, 248.
Annunciation, 99.
Anonymous disciple, 64.
Anthropology of St. Paul, 131.
Anthropos Anomias, 143.
Antichrist, 144.
Anticipation theory, 97.
Antilegomena, 243, 251, 268, 279. 280.
Antinomian tendencies, 219, 226.
Antiochia in Pisidia, 117.
Antiochia in Syria, 15, 117, 118, 155, 258.
Antiochia, Synod, 214.
Aphrodite, 158.
Apocalypse, 283.
  Contents, 283.
  Author and authenticity, 285.
  Purpose, 290.
  Date of composition, 290.
  Problems, 291.
Apocalypse, the "small," 18.
Apollonius, 235.
Apollos, 160, 162, 212.
Apostolate, 216, 224.
Apostolic Constitutions, 281.
Apostolic Council, 110, 118.
Apostolic Decree, 110f.
Appia, 196.
Aquila and Priscilla, 120, 213.
Arabia, 7, 115.
Aramaic Matthew, 7f., 13, 18, 43, 50, 58.
Areopagus, 119, 130.
Aretas, 116.
Arian heresy, 215.
Aristarchus, 107.
Aristides, 3.
Aristion, 30, 69, 212.
Artemis, 189.
Asia Minor, 73, 154, 189, 191, 252, 258, 263, 275, 288.
Assos, 122.
Athanasius, St., 126, 214, 239, 268, 289.
Athenagoras, 162.
Athens, 119, 122, 137, 222.
Attalus I, 154.
Augustine, St., 13, 50, 53, 74, 174, 215, 239, 268, 289.
Augustus, 89.
Azymes, 11, 95f.

Babylon, 264.
Babylonian mythology, 286.
Baptism, anti-typos, 266.
Baptism in St. Paul, 131.
Baptism for the dead, 164.
Baptism of Christ, 88.
Bar-Jona, 256.
Bar-Kochba, 78.
Barnabas, 22, 117, 150, 212, 261.
Barnabas, Epistle, 3, 148.
Basil, St., 214.
Basilides, 3, 161, 169, 176, 193.
Beloved disciple, 78.
Benjamin, 113.
Beroea, 119.
Bethsaida, 65, 256.
Bethesda, 78.
Biblical Commission, decisions, Matth., 5, 14, 18.—Mark, 31.—Luke, 27, 41.—Synoptics, 42, 44.—John, 79.—Acts, 112.—Thess., 139.—Hebr., 216.—Pastoral Ep., 226.
Birth of Christ, 87, 99.
Birth of St. Paul, 113.
Bithynia, 154, 263.
Bloody sweat, 40, 103.

Boanerges, 65.
Bodily infirmity of St. Paul, 171.
Brothers of Christ, 103, 248.
Byzantine Empire, 286.

Caius, 173, 214.
Caligula, 116.
Caligula Apocalypse, 144.
Canon of Trent, 236.
Capharnaum, 7.
Cappadocia, 263.
Captivity,
  Cesarea, 123, 183, 186, 199.
  Rome, 124, 127, 183, 202, 231.
  Deliverance, 125.
  Philippi, 171.
  Ephesus, 189.
Captivity Epistles, 179.
  Date and place of composition, 182.
Carpocratians, 253.
Carthage, 215.
Catalogus Synaiticus 202.
Catholic elements in Matth., 18.
Catholic Epistles, 235.
Celsus, 148.
Celtic, 154.
Census Cyrini, 103.
Cerinthus, 72, 75, 253, 290.
Cesar, 291.
Cesarea, 34, 120, 123f., 186, 239.
Cesarea Philippi, 53.
Charis in St. Paul, 133.
Charismata in St. Paul, 132.
Childhood of Christ, 101.
Chiliasm, 290.
Chloë, 160.
Christology in Apoc., 292.
Christology in St. Paul, 132, 184, 195, 216.
Christology in I. Petr., 265.
Christol. passage Phil., 201.
Chronological order or Synoptics, 43, 57.
Chronological order of the Pastoral Epistles, 221.
Chronology in Matthew, 12.
Chronology of Christ's life, 87.
Chronology of St. Paul's life, 113.
Chrysostom, St. 28, 53, 126, 214.
Chwolson's theory, 98.
Cilicia, 113, 119, 149, 153.
Circular Epistle (Eph.), 191f.
Circumcision, 118.
Claudius, 13, 118, 173, 258, 291.
Clausulæ Jacobi, 239.
Cleansing of the temple, 71.
Clement of Alex., 11, 13, 27, 33, 39, 63, 66, 74, 138, 142, 148, 162, 169, 176, 185, 190, 200, 203, 211, 224, 229, 239, 244, 251, 258, 260, 264, 274, 278, 280, 289.
Clement of Rome, 3, 10, 126, 161, 168, 173, 176, 185, 193, 200, 208, 212, 214, 224, 229, 243, 247, 258f., 270.
Colonia Julia Corinthus, 158.
Colossse, 180.
Colossians, 179.
  Contents, 179.
  Occasion and purpose, 180.
  Date and place of compos., 182.
  Authenticity, 184.
  Problems, 186.
Colossians and Ephesian theory, 187.
Comma Johanneum, 275.
Command of Baptism, 17.
Confession of St. Peter, 16.
Congregatio S. Inquisitionis, 275.
Conversion of St. Paul, 115.
Conversion impossible, 216.

Coos, 122.
Corinth, 119, 120, 121, 137, 158, 175.
Corinthians, Ep. I., 156.
Contents, 157.
Occasion and purpose, 158.
Date and place of compos., 160.
Authenticity, 101.
Problems, 162.
Corinthians, Ep. II., 165.
Contents, 166.
Occasion and purpose, 166.
Place and date of compos., 168.
Authenticity, 168.
Problems, 169.
Corinthians, Apocryphal Epistle, 170.
Corinthians, lost epistle to, 130, 163.
Corpus Johanneum, 293.
Corpus Paulinum, 236.
Council of Jerusalem, 66, 118, 132.
Crete, 125, 127.
Crucifixion, 95.
Cyril of Alex., 214.
Cyril of Jerus., 214, 239, 244, 251, 268, 279, 289.
Cyprian, 111, 214, 251, 268, 288.
Cyprus, 22, 117.
Cyrinus, 88, 103.

Dalmatia, 228.
Damascus, 115.
Darkness (John), 74, 274.
Deists, 80.
Delphi, 118.
Demetrius, 112.
Demons (in Mark), 24.
Derbe, 117, 119, 146.
Descent into the nether world, 16, 102.
Diaconi, 202, 220.
Diagram for Synoptics, 60.
Diaspora, 113, 263.
Diatessaron, 3.
Diatheke, 215.
Didache, 3, 138, 142, 193, 251, 259.
Didymus, 268.
Diognetus, 161, 168, 200, 259.
Dionysius of Alex., 214, 279, 289.
Dionysius of Cor., 173, 258, 288.
Diotrephes, 281.
Dispersion, 244.
Dispute between St. Peter and St. Paul, 155.
Divorce, 18.
Docetism, 72, 274, 280.
Domitian, 208, 250, 291.
Doxology, Rom. XVI, 178.
Duration of Christ's public ministry, 89.

Ebionites, 72.
Ecclesiastical organization, 220, 228, 230.
Editio Antiochena, 111.
Editio Romana, 111.
Egnatia, 198.
Egypt, 28, 252.
Electa, 280.
Emancipation of women, 159.
Encratistic tendencies, 219.
End of Mark, 29.
Enrollment of Cyrinus, 88.
Epaphras, 181.
Epaphroditus, 199.
Ephesians, Ep., 188.
Contents, 189.
Occasion and purpose, 189.
Place and date of compos., 182.
Authenticity, 193.
Problems, 194.

Ephesians and Col., 194.
Ephesians and Laod., 192.
Ephesians and Luke, 195.
Ephesus, 22, 66f., 68f., 76, 120f., 147, 160, 175, 189, 219, 220, 283.
Ephrem, 214.
Epiphanius, 214, 250f.
Episcopi, 202, 220.
Epistolæ Canonicæ, 235.
Eritzov, 30.
Eschatological (life of Christ), 81f.
Eschatology, 102, 104, 130.
Ethics in St. Paul, 131.
Ethiopia, 7.
Etschmiazin, 30.
Eucharist in St. Paul, 131.
Eucharistic words, 35, 39, 51.
Eunice, 218.
Eusebius, 3, 5, 8f., 13, 21, 24, 27, 29, 33f., 90, 126, 147, 173, 210, 214, 224, 233, 243, 251, 268, 279, 289f.
Exousia 165.

Factions, in Corinth, 162.
Faith in St. Paul, 132, 216.
Felix, 123.
Festus, 123, 239
Flesh in St. Paul, 131.
Forged letter (Thess.), 141.
Fortunatus, 160.
Forum Appii, 37, 124.
Four chapter epistle, 169.
Fragment-theory (Synoptics), 55.

Gaius, 277, 281, 289.
Galatia, 119f., 146, 149, 263.
Galatians, 145.
  Contents, 145.
  Occasion and purpose, 146.
  Place and date of compos., 146.
  Authenticity, 147.
  Problems, 149.
Galilee, 73.
Gallio inscription, 118.
Gamaliel, 114.
Genealogies, 15, 39, 225, 228.
Gentiles, 37, 174.
Georgios Hamartolos, 67.
Giscala, 113.
Glossolalia, 159, 164.
Gnostics, 8, 72, 75, 181, 220, 250, 269, 270f., 274.
Gospels, existence in early times, 2.
Gospels, name, 2.
Greece, 3, 9, 154, 158.
Greek Matthew, 57f.
Gregor Naz., 39, 214, 251, 268.
Gregor Nyss., 214.

Haceldama, 11.
Hadrian, 262.
Hebrew (Matthew), 10.
Hebrews, Ep., 203.
  Contents, 203.
  Occasion and purpose, 204.
  Date and place of compos., 207.
  Author and authenticity, 209.
  Problems, 215.
  Bibl. Commission, 216.
Hebrews, Gospel according to, 15.
Hegesippus, 239, 250.
Hellenism (and St. Paul), 129.
Heracleon, 3, 176.
Hermas, 3, 138, 162, 185, 193, 243, 251, 259, 288.
Herod the Great, 87.
Herodotus, 180.
Herostratus, 189.
Hierapolis, 3, 181.
Hierarchy in St. Paul, 132.
Hilary, St., 72, 215, 289.
Hilasterion in St. Paul, 133.

Hippo, Synod, 215.
Hippolytus, 162, 169, 193, 268.
Historicity of Christ, 84f.
Historical criticism, 81.
Holy Innocents, 87.
Homologumena, 289.

Iconium, 117, 119.
Ignatius, St., 3, 10, 63, 67, 138, 148, 161, 176, 185, 193, 200, 221, 224, 229, 259, 273, 275, 288.
Illness of St. Paul in Gal., 153.
Illyria, 122, 154, 175.
Induere Christum in St. Paul, 133.
Infancy section, 16, 28, 36, 39.
Intermediate letter (Cor.), 167, 169.
Irenæus, 2, 3, 4, 8f., 12f., 14, 17, 21, 27, 33, 38, 50f., 62, 66f., 72, 75, 90, 111, 142, 148, 162, 169, 173, 176, 185, 190, 214, 224, 229, 244, 253, 258, 260, 274, 278, 288, 290.
Isauria, 154.
Italy, 209.

Jairus, 8.
James, Ep., 236.
  Contents, 236.
  Author and authenticity, 237.
  Occasion and purpose, 244.
  Date and place of compos., 246.
  Problems, 247.
James and Stoic philosophy, 248.
James, the Elder, 238.
James, the Less, 239.
Jerome, St., 9f., 13, 21f., 29, 33f., 35, 39, 66, 72, 113, 126, 147, 155, 174, 190, 212, 215, 222, 239, 258, 267f., 269, 279f., 289.
Jerusalem, 21, 34, 59, 65, 111, 114, 116, 175, 208, 239, 247, 264, 291.
Jerusalem, council, 66, 112, 118, 147, 150, 227.
Jews (Cor.), 158.
Jewish Alexandrian, 72, 78.
Jewish Christians, 11, 72, 192, 204, 244, 251, 263, 279.
Johannine passage, 16.
John, the Apostle, 65f.
John, the Presbyter, 3, 68, 286.
John, I Ep., 272.
  Contents 272.
  Author and authenticity, 273.
  Occasion and purpose, 274.
  Date and place of compos., 275.
  Problems, 275.
John, II and III Ep., 277.
  Contents, 277.
  Author and authenticity, 277f.
  Occasion and purpose, 280f.
  Date, 281.
  Problems, 282.
John, Gospel, 61.
  Contents, 62.
  Author, 62f.
  Against Ephesian tradition, 67.
  John the Presbyter, 68.
  Critical theories, 70.
  Purpose and aim, 71.
  John and Synoptics, 73.
  Date and place of compos., 75.
  Problems, 76.
  Bibl. Commission, 79.
John Damascene, 187.
John Mark, 21, 28, 261.
Jonas, sign of, 17.
Josephus Flavius, 8, 38, 85, 88f., 93, 123, 239.
Journeys of St. Paul, 116ff.
Judaism of St. Paul, 156.

Jude, 249.
Jude, Epistle, 249.
Contents, 249.
Author and authenticity, 249.
Occasion and purpose, 252.
Date and place of compos., 253.
Problems, 254.
Judea, 73.
Jude and II Petr., 255.
Julius, tribune, 124.
Julius Africanus, 53.
Justification in St. Paul, 139.
Justin, 2, 3, 10, 63, 142, 148, 161, 185, 193, 229, 243, 268, 274f., 288.

Kaystros, 189.
Kingdom of God, 12, 102.
Kingdom of Heaven, 11f.

Lamb, 288.
Laodicea, 181, 222, 283.
Laodicean Epistle, 130, 186f.
Last Supper, 74, 77, 79, 94, 95, 104.
Latinisms, (Mark), 24, 27f.
Law and St. Paul, 130, 216.
Liberalistic life of Christ, 82.
Liberian list of Popes, 174.
Life of Christ, 80.
History of various aspects, 80f.
Historicity of Christ, 84f.
Chronology of His life, 87f. (Date of birth, 87; Beginning of public life, 88; Duration of public life, 89; Year of His death, 93; Day of Last Supper, 94.)
Outline of His life, 99.
Problems, 101ff.
Light (John), 79, 274.
Logia, 8.
Logos, 71f., 75f., 102, 288.
Lois, 218.
Lord's Prayer, 104.
Lord's Supper, 163.
Love, hymn of, 163.
Lucifer of Calar., 215.
Lucius Mummius, 158.
Luke, St., 34.
Luke's Gospel, 32.
Contents, 32.
Author, 34.
Language, 34.
Dependence on St. Paul, 35.
Characteristics, 36.
Critical theories, 36.
Purpose and aim, 37.
Date and place of compos., 38.
Problems, 39.
Bibl. Commission, 41.
Lycaonia, 149.
Lycus, 180.
Lysias, 128.
Lystra, 117, 118, 218.

Macarius Magnes, 174.
Macedonia, 120, 154, 158, 167, 168f., 175.
Magi, 87.
Magnificat, 40f., 101.
Malta, 124.
Man of sin, 144.
Maranatha, 133.
Marcion, 3, 138, 142, 148, 161, 176, 185, 187, 193, 197, 200.
Marcosians, 288.
Mark, St., 21.
Mark's Gospel, 19.
Contents, 19.
Author, 20.
Dependence on St. Peter, 23.
Characteristics, 24.
Theories, 25.
Aim and purpose, 25.
Date and place of compos., 26.

Problems, 28.
Bibl. Commission, 31.
Marriage (in St. Paul), 132.
Matrimony, 160.
Matthew, St., 7.
Matthew's Gospel, 6.
Contents, 6.
Author, 7.
Aramaic Gospel, 8 (Logia).
Greek translator, 10.
Quotations from O. T., 11.
Aim and purpose, 11.
Date and place of compos., 12.
Problems, 15.
Bibl. Commission, 18.
Meander, 180.
Media, 7.
Medical language (Luke), 34, 107.
Melito of Sardes, 288.
Menander, 72.
Mesopotamia, 264.
Messianic consciousness, 10.
Messias, 12.
Miletus, 122.
Ministry, Christian, 202.
Miracles, 24, 103.
Missionary journeys, 116f.
Mithras-religion, 181f.
Mommsenianus, Canon, 214.
Muratorian Canon, 3, 13, 33, 36, 63, 106, 127, 138, 142, 148, 162, 169, 176, 185, 190, 197, 214, 224, 229, 243, 251, 260, 268, 278.
Mutual dependence (Synoptics), 53.
Mysia, 119.
Mystery religions, 129, 262.
Mystical asceticism, 182.
Myths in Pastoral Epist., 225.
Mythological life of Christ, 81, 83.
Neapolis, 119.
Nero redivivus, 144.
Nero, 116, 125, 127, 208, 220, 231, 259, 291.
Nerva, 66.
Nestus, 198.
Nicolaites, 72, 75, 253.
Nicomedes, 154.
Nicopolis, 222.
Nisan, 96.
North Galatia, 146.
North Galatian theory, 151.
North Galatians, 154.
Novatians, 214.
Number, apocalyptic, 291.

Onesimus, 183, 196.
Optimistic life of Christ, 84.
Ophites, 148, 161, 169, 176.
Oral tradition (Synoptics), 54.
Oriental Church (and Hebr.), 214.
Origen, 5, 9, 13, 21, 33, 50, 53, 66, 74, 90, 138, 142, 176f., 185, 190, 194, 197, 211, 244, 250, 251, 268, 289.
Original sin (Paul), 132.
Orosius, 173.
Oxford Society, 2.
Oxyrynchus Papyrus, 9.

Pagan banquets, 159.
Pagan Christians, 25, 37, 72, 137, 192, 227, 263, 270.
Pagan mysteries, 262.
Pagan tribunals, 159.
Palestine, 11, 14, 59, 63, 204, 245, 252.
Pamphylia, 117, 149.
Pan-Galatian theory, 150.
Pannonia, 154.
Pantænus, 204.
Paphos, 117.
Papias, 3, 8, 10, 20, 26, 56, 67f., 259, 264, 273, 277, 288.

Papyrus, Egyptian, 88.
Parables, 12, 17, 74, 103.
Parasceve, 11, 94.
Parousia, 82, 136, 138f., 141, 144.
Parties, in Corinth, 159, 162.
Paschal lamb, 71, 96f.
Paschs in St. John, 91f., 99f.
Passion, 104.
Pastoral Epistles, 217.
Patara, 122.
Patmos, 66, 288.
Paul, St., 21, 108.
Paul, St., Chronology, 113.
Before his conversion, 113.
Conversion, 115.
Missionary work, 116.
1st journey to Jerusalem, 116.
I. Miss. journey, 117.
Council of Jerusalem, 118.
II. Miss. journey, 118.
Areopagus, 119.
I. and II. Thess., 120.
III. Miss. journey, 120.
Gal., I Cor., 121.
II Cor., Rom., 122.
Captivity in Cæsarea, 123.
1st captivity in Rome, 124.
Captivity-epistles, 124.
Deliverance, 125.
Further activity, 126.
Journey in the Orient, 127.
2nd captivity in Rome, 127.
Pauline Epistles, 134.
Pergamus, 154, 281, 283.
Perge, 22, 117.
Pericope adulteræ, 77.
Persia, 7.
Pessimistic life of Christ, 83.
Peter, St., 108, 256.
Peter I. Ep., 255.
Contents, 255.
Author and authenticity, 256.
Occasion and purpose, 263.
Date and place of compos., 264.
Problems, 265.
Peter II. Ep., 266.
Contents, 266.
Author and authenticity, 267.
Occasion and purpose, 270.
Date and place of compos., 271.
Problems, 271.
Peter in Rome, 173f., 265.
Peter and James, 265.
Peter and Mark, 23.
Pharisees, 12.
Philadelphia, 281, 283.
Philastrius, 214.
Philemon, 196.
Philemon, Ep., 196.
Contents, 196.
Occasion and purpose, 196.
Date and place of compos., 182.
Authenticity, 197.
Problems, 197.
Philip, 212.
Philippi, 34, 119, 122, 168, 175, 198.
Philippians, Ep., 197.
Contents, 198.
Occasion and purpose, 198.
Date and place of compos., 182.
Authenticity, 199.
Problems, 201.
Philippus Sidetes, 67.
Philo, 8.
Phoebe, 175.
Phrygia, 119, 149f., 180.
Pilate, 93.
Pisidia, 149.
Pleroma in St. Paul, 132, 188.
Pliny, 86, 180.
Plutarch, 182.
Pneumatic Gospel, 74.

Polycarp, St., 3, 10, 107, 142, 148, 161, 168, 176, 185, 200, 202, 221, 224, 259, 274f.
Polycrates, 66.
Pontus, 263.
Pool of Bethesda, 78.
Preface of Luke, 41.
Pre-Gospel sources, 58.
Presbyter John, 68.
Prima defensio, 126.
Primacy of St. Peter, 23, 103, 257.
Primitive source (Synoptics), 55.
Priscilla, 120, 213.
Priscillian, 215, 275.
Proclus, 289.
Professio fidei, 220.
Prologues, Latin, 21, 33.
Prosecution of Christ, 104.
Proto-Mark, 56.
Psycho-pathological (Christ), 83.
Public ministry of Christ, 88.

Quotations from O. T., 17, 46.

Rationalistic life of Christ, 81.
Reimarus, 81.
Restraining power, 144.
Resurrection, 95, 102, 130, 159, 164, 231.
Rhodes, 122.
Roman citizen (St. Paul), 114.
Roman empire, 173.
Roman province, 149, 154.
Roman Synod, 215, 235.
Romans, Ep., 171.
  Contents, 172.
  Occasion and purpose, 172.
  Date and place of compos., 175.
  Authenticity, 176.
  Problems, 177.
Rome, 13, 22, 25, 27, 34, 37, 59, 66, 109f., 147, 173, 222, 258, 264, 271.

Salome, 65.
Samaria, 65.
Sardes, 283.
Saul, 114.
Sayings of Jesus, 8f., 79.
Seleucia, 264.
Self-velation in Mark, 24, 28.
Semitisms, 36, 242.
Septuagint, 8, 11, 46.
Septuagint (in Paul), 130.
Sergius Paulus, 117.
Sermon on the Mount, 12, 17, 48.
Signature of St. Paul, 143.
Silas, 118f., 136.
Silas-Silvanus, 212.
Silvanus-hypothesis, 261f.
Simon Magus, 144, 253.
Simon Peter, 256.
Sin in St. Paul, 131.
Slaves, 159, 197.
Smyrna, 283.
Socialistic (life of Christ), 84.
Somatic Gospel, 74.
Son of God, 71, 73, 101.
Son of Man, 24, 28, 102.
Sosipater, 175.
South-Galatian theory, 149.
Spain, 126f., 172.
Speculative (life of Christ), 83.
Spirit in St. Paul, 131, 226.
Spiritual gifts, 160, 164.
Spiritus Paraclitus, 74.
Star of Bethlehem, 103.
Stephanus, 160.
Stimulus carnis, 114.
Stoicism, 70, 240, 248, 269.
Strabo, 181.
Strymon, 198.
Style of Luke, 40.

Suetonius, 86, 174.
Symbols (Apoc.), 292.
Synagogue (Cor.), 159.
Syncretistic Gnosticism, 219.
Synoptic problem, 42.
  Decisions of Bibl. Comm., 42f.
  Outline of problem, 42f.
  Synoptic theories, 53f.
  Attempt at solution, 57f.
Syria, 117, 119, 153, 250.
Syrian church, 197, 243, 251, 268, 279.

Tabernacle, 207, 215.
Tacitus, 86, 94, 123.
Talmud, 87.
Targum, 11
Tarsus, 113, 117.
Tatian, 3, 107.
Temptation of Christ, 103.
Tertullian, 11, 13, 21, 33, 66, 90, 94, 111, 138, 142, 148, 161, 169, 176, 185, 187, 190, 197, 200, 211, 214, 224, 229, 244, 249, 251, 258, 260, 274, 279, 288.
Thaddeus, 249.
Theodor Lector, 34.
Theodor of Mops., 187, 214.
Theodoret, 126, 147.
Theophilus, 37, 109.
Theophilus of Ant., 63, 169, 214, 224, 229, 243, 289.
Thessalonica, 119, 120, 136, 281.
Thessalonians, Ep. I., 135.
  Contents, 136.
  Occasion and purpose, 136.
  Date and place of compos., 137.
  Authenticity, 137.
  Problems, 138.
  Bibl. Commission, 139.
Thessalonians, Ep. II, 140.
  Contents, 140.
  Occasion and purpose, 141.
  Date and place of compos., 141.
  Authenticity, 142.
  Problems, 143.
Thrace, 198.
Thyatira, 283.
Tiberius, 88, 116.
Timothy, 218.
Timothy, Ep. I., 217.
  Contents, 217.
  Occasion and purpose, 218.
  Date and place of compos., 220.
  Authenticity, 222.
  Problems, 225.
  Bibl. Commission 226.
Timothy, Ep. II, 230.
  Contents, 230.
  Occasion and purpose, 231.
  Date and place of compos., 231.
  Authenticity, 232.
  Problems, 233.
  Bibl. Commission, 233.
Tire, 122.
Titus, 122, 144, 227.
Titus, Ep., 227.
  Contents, 227.
  Occasion and purpose, 227.
  Date and place of compos., 228.
  Authenticity, 229.
  Problems, 230.
  Bibl. Commission, 230.
Topography (John), 79.
Tractatus Origenis, 211.
Transfiguration, 53, 103.
Trajan, 67, 262.
Translation-theory, 98.
Tres tabernæ, 37, 124.
Troas, 34, 119.
Trophimus, 123.
Tübingen school, 72, 110, 184, 193, 199.

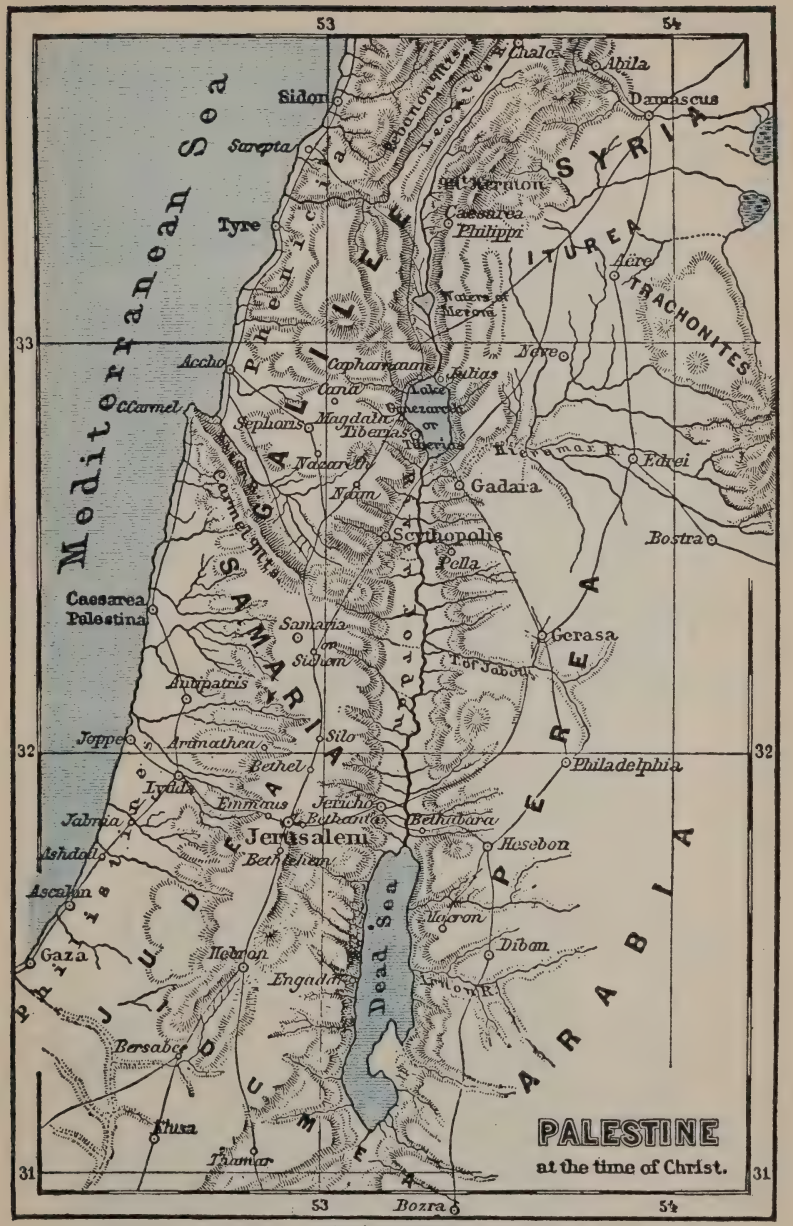
Two-sources theory, 8, 11, 44, 56.
Tychicus, 184, 191f.

Universality of the Gospel, 12, 35, 175.
Ur-Markus, 25.

Valentine, 3, 148, 176, 193, 200.
Vespasian, 291.
Via Egnatia, 198.
Victor, Pope, 66.
Victorinus, 72.
Virgin birth, 15, 101.
Virginity, 160, 164.
Visits of St. Paul in Cor., 164f.
Visit of St. Paul in Jerusalem, 111.

Washingtoniensis, Cod., 29.
We-sections, 34, 107.
Western text, 110f.
Wisdom of Solomon (Hebr.), 216.

Zebedee, 65, 258.


53
54
Mediterranean Sea
Sidon
Sarepta
Tyre
Phenicia
Chalcis
Abila
Damascus
Regions of Trachonitis
Lesser Hermon
SYRIA
Mt. Hermon
Caesarea Philippi
ITUREA
TRACHONITES
Aere
Towers of Mergona
GALILEE
Upper Galilee
Lower Galilee
Nove
Julias
Lake Gennesareth or Tiberias
Tiberias
Hieromax R.
Edrei
Gadara
Acchо
Caphar-naum
Cana
Mt. Carmel
Sephoris
Magdala
Nazareth
Nain
Scythopolis
Pella
Bostra
Caesarea Palestina
SAMARIA
Samaria or Sichem
Gerasa
Tor Jabou
Antipatris
PEREA
Joppe
Aramathra
Silo
Bethel
Philadelphia
Lydda
Emmaus
Jericho
Bethabara
Jabnia
Jerusalem
Hesebon
Ashdodim
Bethlehem
Ascalon
Maeron
Dibon
Gaza
Hebron
Engaddi
Dead Sea
Arnon R.
ARABIA
JUDEA
Idumea
Bersabee
Elusa
Thamar
Bozra
PALESTINE
at the time of Christ.
31
32
33
Scale of Miles
10 20 30 40 50 100

The Missionary Journeys of St PAUL
Scale 1. 14000000
Engl. Miles
First Missionary Journey
Second "
Third "
Journey to Rome
Long East 25 of Greenwich
BLACK SEA
MEDITERRANEAN SEA
Moesia
Thracia
Macedonia
Dalmatia
ITALY
Rome
Puteoli
Brundisium
Tarentum
Sicily
Syracuse
Rhegium
Messana
Corcyra
Nicopolis
Epirus
Thessalia
ACHAIA
Corinthus
Cenchreae
Athenae
Thessalonica
Amphipolis
Philippi
Neapolis
Byzantium
Constantinopolis
Paphlagonia
Bithynia
Pontus
Mysia
Troas
Assos
Adramyttium
Pergamus
Mitylene
Lydia
Sardis
Philadelphia
Thyatira
Smyrna
Ephesus
Laodicea
Colossae
Hierapolis
Antiochia
Iconium
Phrygia
Galatia
MINOR
ASIA
Caesarea
Cappadocia
Pisidia
Lystra
Derbe
Pamphylia
Attalia
Perga
Lycia
Caria
Miletus
Cos
Cnidus
Patara
Myra
Rhodus
Crete
Phoenice
Salmone
Caudos
Cyprus
Paphos
Salamis
Cilicia
Tarsus
Issus
Seleucia
Antiochia
Euphrates
Syria
Damascus
Sidon
Tyrus
Ptolemais
Caesarea
Samaria
Antipatris
Joppe
Jerusalem
Asdod
Gaza
Arabia
Libya
Cyrene
Mouths of the Nile
Alexandria
EGYPT
Tiber
Tres Tabernae
Forum Appii
Aquae Sextiae
Rhone
Arausio
Danube
15
20
30
35
40
30
35

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